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O R,

POLITICAL ESSAYS.

By the Right Honourable

JOSEPH ADDISON, Esq.

THE EIGHTH EDITION.

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THE

FREE HOLDER

OF



STATES

JOSEPH H. ADDISON

JOSEPH H. ADDISON

THE UNITED STATES

JOSEPH H. ADDISON

THE
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ESSAYS.

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THE



T H E

FREE-HOLDER.

N^o 1. *Friday, December 23. 1715.*

Rara temporum felicitas, ubi sentire quae velis, et quae sentias dicere licet. TACIT.

THE arguments of an author lose a great deal of their weight when we are persuaded that he only writes for argument's sake, and has no real concern in the cause which he espouses. This is the case of one who draws his pen in the defence of property without having any ; except, perhaps, in the copy of a libel, or a ballad. One is apt to suspect, that the passion for liberty, which appears in a Grub-street patriot, arises only from his apprehensions of a goal ; and that whatever he may pretend, he does not write to secure, but to get something of his own. Should the government be overturned, he has nothing to lose but an old standish.

I question not but the reader will conceive a respect for the author of this paper, from the title of it ; since, he may be sure, I am so considerable a man, that I cannot have less than forty shillings a year.

I have rather chosen this title than any other, because it is what I most glory in, and what most effectually calls
to

to my mind the happiness of that government under which I live. As a *British* free-holder, I should not scruple taking place of a *French* marquis; and when I see one of my countrymen amusing himself in his little cabbage-garden, I naturally look upon him as a greater person than the owner of the richest vineyard in *Champagne*.

The house of commons is the representative of men in my condition. I consider myself as one who gives my consent to every law which passes: A free-holder in our government being of the nature of a citizen of *Rome* in that famous commonwealth; who, by the election of a tribune, had a kind of remote voice in every law that was enacted. So that a free-holder is but one remove from a legislator, and for that reason ought to stand up in the defence of those laws which are in some degree of his own making. For such is the nature of our happy constitution, that the bulk of the people virtually give their approbation to every thing they are bound to obey, and prescribe to themselves those rules by which they are to walk.

At the same time that I declare I am a free-holder, I do not exclude myself from any other title. A free-holder may be either a voter, or a knight of the shire; a wit, or a fox-hunter; a scholar, or a soldier; an alderman, or a courtier; a patriot, or a stock-jobber. But I chuse to be distinguished by this denomination, as the free-holder is the basis of all other titles. Dignities may be grafted upon it; but this is the substantial stock that conveys to them their life, taste and beauty; and without which they are no more than blossoms, that would fall away with every shake of wind.

And here I cannot but take occasion to congratulate my country upon the increase of this happy tribe of men, since by the wisdom of the present parliament, I find the race of free-holders spreading into the remotest corners of the island. I mean that act which passed in the late session for the encouragement of loyalty in *Scotland*; By which it is provided, *That all and every vassal and vassals in Scotland, who shall continue peaceable, and in dutiful allegiance to his majesty, his heirs and successors, holding lands or tenements of any offender [guilty of high-*

treason



treason] who holds such lands or tenements immediately of the crown, shall be vested and seized, and are hereby enacted and ordained to hold the said lands or tenements of his majesty, his heirs and successors, in fee and heritage for ever, by such manner of holding, as any such offender held such lands or tenements of the crown, &c.

By this means it is in the power of a Highlander to be at all times a good tenant, without being a rebel; and to deserve the character of a faithful servant, without thinking himself obliged to follow his master to the gallows.

How can we sufficiently extol the goodness of his present majesty, who is not willing to have a single slave in his dominions! Or enough rejoice in the exercise of that loyalty, which, instead of betraying a man into the most ignominious servitude, (as it does in some of our neighbouring kingdoms) entitles him to the highest privileges of freedom and property! It is now to be hoped, that we shall have few vassals, but to the laws of our country.

When these men have a taste of property, they will naturally love that constitution from which they derive so great a blessing. There is an unspeakable pleasure in calling any thing one's own. A free-hold, though it be but in ice and snow, will make the owner pleased in the possession, and stout in the defence of it; and is a very proper reward of our allegiance to our present king, who (by an unparallel'd instance of goodness in a sovereign, and infatuation in subjects) contends for the freedom of his people against themselves; and will not suffer many of them to fall into a state of slavery, which they are bent upon with so much eagerness and obstinacy.

A free-holder of *Great Britain*, is bred with an aversion to every thing that tends to bring him under a subjection to the arbitrary will of another. Of this we find frequent instances in all our histories; where the persons, whose characters are the most amiable, and strike us with the highest veneration, are those who stood up manfully against the invasions of civil liberty, and the complicated tyranny which Popery imposes upon

upon our bodies, our fortunes, and our minds. What a despicable figure then must the present mock-patriots make in the eyes of posterity, who venture to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, for the ruin of those civil rights which their ancestors, rather than part with, chose to be cut to pieces in the field of battle? And what an opinion will after-ages entertain of their religion, who bid fair for a gibbet, by endeavouring to bring in a superstition which their fore-fathers perished in flames to keep out?

But how instructive soever the folly of these men may prove to future times, it will be my business more immediately to consult the happiness of the age in which I live. And since so many profligate writers have endeavoured to varnish over a bad cause, I shall do all in my power to recommend a good one, which indeed requires no more than barely to explain what it is. While many of my gallant countrymen are employed in pursuing rebels half discomfited through the consciousness of their guilt, I shall labour to improve those victories to the good of my fellow-subjects; by carrying on our successes over the minds of men, and by reconciling them to the cause of their king, their country, and their religion.

To this end, I shall in the course of this paper (to be published every *Monday* and *Friday*) endeavour to open the eyes of my countrymen to their own interest, to shew them the privileges of an *English* free-holder, which they enjoy in common with myself, and to make them sensible how these blessings are secured to us by his majesty's title, his administration, and his personal character.

I have only one request to make to my readers, that they will peruse these papers with the same candour and impartiality in which they are written; and shall hope for no other prepossession in favour of them, than what one would think should be natural to every man, a desire to be happy, and a good-will towards those who are the instruments of making them so.



N^o 2. Monday, December 26.

Non de Domino, sed de Parente loquimur. Intelligamus ergo bona nostra, dignosque nos illius usu probemus; atque identidem cogitemus; si majus principibus praeferemus obsequium, qui servitute civium, quam qui libertate laetantur. PLIN.

HAVING in my first paper set forth the happiness of my station as a free-holder of Great-Britain, and the nature of that property which is secured to me by the laws of my country, I cannot forbear considering, in the next place, that person who is entrusted with the guardianship and execution of those laws. I have lived in one reign, when the prince, instead of invigorating the laws of our country, or giving them their proper course, assumed a power of dispensing with them; and in another, when the sovereign was flattered by a set of men into a persuasion, that the regal authority was unlimited and uncircumscribed. In either of these cases, good laws are at best but a dead letter; and by shewing the people how happy they ought to be, only serve to aggravate the sense of their oppressions.

We have the pleasure at this time to see a king upon the throne, who hath too much goodness, to wish for any power, that does not enable him to promote the welfare of his subjects; and too much wisdom to look upon those as his friends, who would make their court to him by the profession of an obedience, which they never practised, and which has always proved fatal to those princes, who have put it to the tryal. His majesty gave a proof of his sovereign virtues before he came to the exercise of them in this kingdom. His inclination to justice led him to rule his *German* subjects in the same manner that our constitution directs him to govern the *English*. He regarded those which

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are our civil liberties, as the natural rights of mankind; and therefore indulged them to a people, who pleaded no other claim to them than from his known goodness and humanity. This experience of a good prince, before we had the happiness to enjoy him, must give great satisfaction to every thinking man, who considers how apt sovereignty is to deprive human nature; and how many of our own princes made very ill figures upon the throne, who, before they ascended it, were the favourites of the people.

What gives us the greatest security in the conduct of so excellent a prince, is that consistency of behaviour, whereby he inflexibly pursues those measures which appear the most just and equitable. As he hath the character of being the most prudent in laying proper schemes; he is no less remarkable for being steady in accomplishing what he has once concerted. Indeed, if we look into the history of his present majesty, and reflect upon that wonderful series of successes which have attended him, I think they cannot be ascribed to any thing so much as to this uniformity and firmness of mind, which has always discovered itself in his proceedings. It was by this that he surmounted those many difficulties that lay in the way to his succession; and by which, we have reason to hope, he will daily make all opposition fall before him. The fickle and unsteady politicks of our late *British* monarchs have been the perpetual source of those dissensions and animosities which have made the nation unhappy: whereas the constant and unshaken temper of his present majesty, must have a natural tendency to the peace of his government, and the unanimity of his people.

Whilst I am enumerating the publick virtues of our sovereign, which are so conducive to the advantage of those who are to obey him, I cannot but take notice, that his majesty was bred up from his infancy with a love to this our nation, under a princess, who was the most accomplished woman of her age, and particularly famous for her affection to the *English*. Our countrymen were dear to him, before there was any prospect of their being his subjects; and every one knows, that
nothing

nothing recommended a man so much to the distinguishing civilities of his court, as the being born in *Great-Britain*.

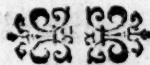
To the fame of his majesty's civil virtues, we may add the reputation he has acquired by his martial achievements. It is observed by Sir *William Temple*, that the *English* are particularly fond of a king who is valiant: upon which account his majesty has a title to all the esteem that can be paid the most warlike prince; though at the same time, for the good of his subjects, he studies to decline all occasions of military glory; and chooses rather to be distinguished as the father, than as the captain of his people. I am glad his rebellious subjects are too inconsiderable to put him upon exerting that courage and conduct, which rais'd him so great a reputation in *Hungary* and the *Morea*, when he fought against the enemies of Christianity; and in *Germany* and *Flanders*, where he commanded against the great disturber of the peace of *Europe*. One would think there was reason for the opinion of those, who make personal courage to be an hereditary virtue, when we see so many instances of it in the line of *Brunswick*. To go no farther back than the time of our present king, where can we find among the sovereign houses of *Europe*, any other family, that has furnished so many persons of distinguished fortitude? Three of his majesty's brothers have fallen gloriously in the field, fighting against the enemies of their native country: And the bravery of his royal highness the prince of *Wales*, is still fresh in our memory, who fought with the spirit of his father, at the battle of *Audenarde*, when the children of *France*, and the pretender, fled before him.

I might here take notice of his majesty's more private virtues, but have rather chosen to remind my countrymen of the publick parts of his character, which are supported by such incontestible facts as are universally known and acknowledged.

Having thus far considered our happiness in his majesty's civil and military character, I cannot forbear pleasing myself with regarding him in the view of one, who has been always fortunate. *Cicero* recommends *Pompey*

under this particular head to the *Romans*, with whom the character of being fortunate was so popular, that several of their emperors gave it a place among their titles. Good fortune is often the reward of virtue, and as often the effect of prudence. And whether it proceeds from either of these, or from both together, or whatever may be the cause of it, every one is naturally pleased to see his interest conducted by a person who is used to good success. The establishment of the electoral dignity in his majesty's family, was a work reserved for him finally to accomplish. A large accession of dominion fell to him, by his succeeding to the dukedom of *Zell*, whereby he became one of the greatest princes of *Germany*; and one of the most powerful persons, that ever stood next heir to the throne of *Great-Britain*. The dutchy of *Bremen*, and the bishoprick of *Osnaburgh*, have considerably strengthened his interests in the empire, and given a great additional weight to the protestant cause. But the most remarkable interpositions of providence, in favour of him, have appeared in removing those seemingly invincible obstacles to his succession; in taking away, at so critical a juncture, the person who might have proved a dangerous enemy; in confounding the secret and open attempts of his traiterous subjects; and in giving him the delightful prospect of transmitting his power through a numerous and still increasing progeny.

Upon the whole, it is not to be doubted but every wise and honest subject will concur with providence in promoting the glory and happiness of his present majesty, who is endowed with all those royal virtues, that will naturally secure to us the national blessings, which ought to be dear and valuable to a free people.





N^o 3. Friday, December 30.

Quibus otio vel magnifice, vel molliter vivere copia erat, incerta pro certis, bellum quam pacem malebant. SAL.

EVERY one knows that it is usual for a *French* officer, who can write and read, to set down all the occurrences of a campaign, in which he pretends to have been personally concerned; and to publish them under the title of his *Memoirs*, when most of his fellow-soldiers are dead that might have contradicted any of his matters of fact. Many a gallant young fellow has been killed in battle before he came to the third page of his secret history; when several who have taken more care of their persons, have lived to fill a whole volume with their military performances, and to astonish the world with such instances of their bravery, as had escaped the notice of every body else. One of our late *Preston* heroes had, it seems, resolved upon this method of doing himself justice: And, had he not been nipped in the bud, might have made a very formidable figure in his own works, among posterity. A friend of mine, who had the pillage of his pockets, has made me a present of the following memoirs, which he desires me to accept as a part of the spoils of the rebels. I have omitted the introduction, as more proper for the inspection of a secretary of state; and shall only set down so much of the memoirs as seem to be a faithful narrative of that wonderful expedition, which drew upon it the eyes of all *Europe*.

HAVING thus concerted measures for a rising, we had a general meeting over a bowl of punch. It was here proposed by one of the wisest among us, to draw up a manifesto, setting forth the grounds and motives of our taking arms: for, as he observed, there

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‘ had

' had never yet been an insurrection in *England*, where
' the leaders had not thought themselves obliged to give
' some reasons for it. To this end we laid our heads
' together, to consider what grievances the nation had
' suffered under the reign of king *George*. After having
' spent some hours upon this subject, without being able
' to discover any, we unanimously agreed to rebel first,
' and to find out reasons for it afterwards. It was in-
' deed easy to guess at several grievances of a private
' nature, which influenced particular persons. One of
' us had spent his fortune: another was a younger bro-
' ther: a third had the incumbrance of a father upon
' his estate. But that which principally disposed us in
' favour of the chevalier was, that most of the company
' had been obliged to take the abjuration oath against
' their will. Being at length thoroughly enflamed with
' zeal and punch, we resolved to take horse the next
' morning; which we did accordingly, having been
' joined by a considerable reinforcement of *Roman Ca-*
' *tholicks*, whom we could rely upon, as knowing them
' to be the best *Tories* in the nation, and avowed ene-
' mies to *Presbyterianism*. We were likewise joined by
' a very useful associate, who was a fidler by profession,
' and brought in with him a body of lusty young fellows,
' whom he had tweedled into the service. About the
' third day of our march I was made a colonel; though,
' I must need say, I gained my commission by my horse's
' virtues, not my own; having leapt over a six-bar gate
' at the head of the cavalry. My general, who is a
' discerning man, hereupon gave me a regiment, telling
' me, *He did not question but I would do the like when*
' *I came to the enemies palisadoes*. We pursued our
' march with much intrepidity through two or three open
' towns, to the great terror of the market people, and
' the miscarriage of half-a-dozen big-belly'd women.
' Notwithstanding the magistracy was generally against
' us, we could discover many friends among our spec-
' tators; particularly in two or three balconies, which
' were filled with several taudry females, who are known
' in that country by the ancient name of *Harlots*. This
' sort of ladies received us every where with great de-
' monstrations

'monstrations of joy, and promised to assist us with
 'their prayers. After these signal successes in the north
 'of *England*, it was thought adviseable by our general
 'to proceed towards our *Scots* confederates. During
 'our first day's march I amused myself with consider-
 'ing what post I should accept of under *James* the third,
 'when we had put him in possession of the *British* do-
 'minions. Being a great lover of country sports, I
 'absolutely determined not to be a minister of state, nor
 'to be fobb'd off with a garter; till at length passing by
 'a noble country seat which belongs to a *Whig*, I re-
 'solved to beg it; and pleased myself the remainder of
 'the day with several alterations I intended to make in
 'it. For though the situation was very delightful, I
 'neither liked the front of the house, nor the avenues
 'that led to it. We were indeed so confident of success,
 'that I found most of my fellow-soldiers were taken up
 'with imaginations of the same nature. There had
 'like to have been a duel between two of our subalterns
 'upon a dispute which of them should be governor of
 '*Portsmouth*. A *Popish* priest about the same time gave
 'great offence to a *Northumberland* squire, whom he
 'threatened to excommunicate, if he did not give up
 'to him the church-lands, which his family had usurped
 'ever since the reformation. In short, every man had
 'cut out a place for himself in his own thoughts; so
 'that I could reckon up in our little army two or three
 'lord-treasurers, half-a-dozen secretaries of state, and
 'at least a score of lords justices in Eyre for each side
 'of *Trent*. We pursued our march through several
 'villages, which we drank dry, making proclamation at
 'our entrance, in the name of *James* the third, against
 'all concealments of ale or brandy. Being very much
 'fatigued with the action of a whole week, it was a-
 'greed to rest on *Sunday*, when we heard a most ex-
 'cellent sermon. Our chaplain insisted principally up-
 'on two heads. Under the first he proved to us, that
 'the breach of publick oaths is no perjury: And un-
 'der the second, expounded to us the nature of non-
 'resistance; which might be interpreted from the *He-*
 '*brew*, to signify either loyalty or rebellion, according
 'as

‘ as the sovereign bestowed his favours and preferments.
‘ He concluded with exhorting us, in a most pathetick
‘ manner, to purge the land by wholesome severities,
‘ and to propagate sound principles by fire and sword.
‘ We set forward the next day towards our friends at
‘ *Kelfo*; but by the way had like to have lost our ge-
‘ neral, and some of our most active officers. For a
‘ fox unluckily crossing the road, drew off a consider-
‘ able detachment, who clapped spurs to their horses,
‘ and pursued him with whoops and halloos till we had
‘ lost sight of them. A covey of partridges springing
‘ in our front, put our infantry in disorder on the same
‘ day. It was not long after this that we were joined
‘ by our friends from the other side of the *Frith*. Upon
‘ the junction of the two corps, our spies brought us
‘ word, that they discovered a great cloud of dust at
‘ some distance; upon which, we sent out a party to re-
‘ connoitre. They returned to us with intelligence, that
‘ the dust was raised by a great drove of black cattle.
‘ This news was not a little welcome to us, the army
‘ of both nations being very hungry. We quickly form-
‘ ed ourselves, and received orders for the attack, with
‘ positive instructions to give no quarter. Every thing
‘ was executed with so much good order, that we made
‘ a very plentiful supper. We had, three days after,
‘ the same success against a flock of sheep, which we
‘ were forced to eat with great precipitation, having
‘ received advice of general *Carpenter*’s march as we
‘ were at dinner. Upon this alarm we made incredible
‘ stretches toward the South, with a design to gain
‘ the fastnesses of *Preston*. We did little remarkable
‘ in our way, except setting fire to a few houses, and
‘ frightening an old woman into fits. We had now got
‘ a long day’s march of the enemy; and meeting with
‘ a considerable refreshment of *October*, all the officers
‘ assembled over it, among whom were several *Papish*
‘ lords and gentlemen, who toasted many loyal healths
‘ and confusions, and wept very plentifully for the dan-
‘ ger of the church. We sat till midnight, and at our
‘ parting resolved to give the enemy battle; but the
‘ next morning changed our resolutions, and prosecuted
‘ our

‘ our march with indefatigable speed. We were no
 ‘ sooner arrived upon the frontiers of *Cumberland*, but
 ‘ we saw a great body of militia drawn up in array a-
 ‘ gainst us. Orders were given to halt; and a council
 ‘ of war was immediately called, wherein we agreed,
 ‘ with that great unanimity which was so remarkable a-
 ‘ mong us, on these occasions, to make a retreat. But
 ‘ before we could give the word, the train-bands, taking
 ‘ advantage of our delay, fled first. We arrived at
 ‘ *Preston* without any memorable adventure; where,
 ‘ after having formed many barricades, and prepared for
 ‘ a vigorous resistance, upon the approach of the king’s
 ‘ troops under general *Wills*, who was used to the out-
 ‘ landish way of making war, we thought it high time
 ‘ to put in practice that passive obedience, in which our
 ‘ party so much glories, and which I would advise them
 ‘ to stick to for the future.’

Such was the end of this rebellion; which, in all probability, will not only tend to the safety of our constitution, but the preservation of the game.



N^o 4. Monday, January 2. 1716.

*Ne se mulier extra virtutum cogitationes, extraque bel-
 lorum casus putet, ipsis incipientis matrimonii auspiciis
 admonetur, venire se laborum periculorumque sociam,
 idem in pace, idem in proelio passuram ausuramque.
 Sic vivendum, sic pereundum.* TACIT.

IT is with great satisfaction I observe, that the wo-
 men of our island, who are the most eminent for
 virtue and good sense, are in the interest of the pre-
 sent government. As the fair sex very much recom-
 mend the cause they are engaged in, it would be no
 small misfortune to a sovereign, though he had all the
 male part of the nation on his side, if he did not find
 himself king of the most beautiful half of his subjects.

Ladies

Ladies are always of great use to the party they espouse, and never fail to win over numbers to it. Lovers, according to Sir *William Petty's* computation, make at least the third part of the fencible men of the *British* nation; and it has been an uncontroverted maxim in all ages, that, though a husband is sometimes a stubborn sort of a creature, a lover is always at the devotion of his mistress. By this means it lies in the power of every fine woman, to secure at least half-a-dozen able-bodied men to his majesty's service. The female world are likewise indispensably necessary in the best causes to manage the controversial part of them, in which no man of tolerable breeding is ever able to refute them. Arguments out of a pretty mouth are unanswerable.

It is indeed remarkable, that the inferior tribe of common women, who are a dishonour to their sex, have, in most reigns, been the professed sticklers for such as have acted in opposition to the true interest of the nation. The most numerous converts in king *James's* reign, were particularly noted to be of this kind. I can give no other reason for such a behaviour, unless it be, that it is not for the advantage of these female adventurers the laws of the land should take place, and that they know *Bridewell* is a part of our constitution.

There are many reasons why the women of *Great-Britain* should be on the side of the Free-holder, and enemies to the person who would bring in arbitrary government and Popery. As there are several of our ladies who amuse themselves in the reading of travels, they cannot but take notice what uncomfortable lives those of their own sex lead, where passive-obedience is professed and practised in its utmost perfection. In those countries the men have no property but in their wives, who are the slaves to slaves: every married woman being subject to a domestick tyrant, that requires from her the same vassalage which he pays to the Sultan. If the ladies would seriously consider the evil consequences of arbitrary power, they would find, that it spoils the shape of the foot in *China*, where the barbarous politicks of the men so diminish the basis

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of the female figure, as to unqualify a woman for an evening walk or a country dance. In the *East-Indies*, a widow who has any regard to her character, throws herself into the flames of her husband's funeral pile, to shew, forsooth, that she is faithful and loyal to the memory of her deceased lord. In *Persia* the daughters of *Eve*, as they call them, are reckoned in the inventory of their goods, and chattels: And it is an usual thing when a man sells a bale of silk, or a drove of camels, to toss half-a-dozen women into the bargain. Through all the dominions of the *Great Turk*, a woman thinks herself happy if she can but get the twelfth share of a husband, and is thought of no manner of use in the creation, but to keep up a proper number of slaves for the commander of the Faithful. I need not set forth the ill usage, which the fair ones meet with in those despotick governments that lie nearer us. Every one hath heard of the several ways of locking up women in *Spain* and *Italy*; where, if there is any power lodged in any of the sex, it is not among the young and the beautiful, whom nature seems to have formed for it, but among the old and withered matrons, known by the frightful name of *Gouvernantes* and *Duegnas*. If any should alledge the freedoms indulged to the *French* ladies, he must own that these are owing to the natural gallantry of the people, not to their form of government, which excludes, by its very constitution, every female from power, as naturally unfit to hold the sceptre of that kingdom.

Women ought in reason to be no less averse to Popery than to arbitrary power. Some merry authors have pretended to demonstrate, that the *Roman Catholick* religion could never spread in a nation, where women would have more modesty than to expose their innocent liberties to a confessor. Others of the same turn have assured us, that the fine *British* complexion, which is so peculiar to our ladies, would suffer very much from a fish-diet: And that a whole *Lent* would give such a fallowness to the celebrated beauties of this island, as would scarce make them distinguishable from those of *France*. I shall only leave to the serious consideration

sideration of my country-women the danger any of them might have been in, (had Popery been our national religion) of being forced by their relations to a state of perpetual virginity. The most blooming toast in the island might have been a nun; and many a lady, who is now a mother of fine children, condemned to a condition of life, disagreeable to herself, and unprofitable to the world. To this I might add the melancholy objects they would be daily entertained with, of several lightly men delivered over to an inviolable celibacy. Let a young lady imagine to herself the brisk embroidered officer, who now makes love to her with so agreeable an air, converted into a monk; or the beau, who now addresses himself to her in a full bottom'd wig, distinguished by a little bald pate covered with a black leather skull-cap. I forbear to mention many other objections, which the ladies, who are no strangers to the doctrines of Popery, will easily recollect: though I do not in the least doubt, but those I have already suggested, will be sufficient to persuade my fair readers to be zealous in the protestant cause.

The freedom and happiness of our *British* ladies is so singular, that it is a common saying in foreign countries, *If a bridge were built cross the seas, all the women in Europe would flock into England.* It has been observed, that the laws relating to them are so favourable, that one would think they themselves had given votes in enacting them. All the honours and indulgences of society are due to them by our customs; and by our constitution, they have all the privileges of *English*-born subjects, without the burdens. I need not acquaint my fair fellow-free-holders, that every man, who is anxious for our sacred and civil rights, is a champion in their cause; since we enjoy in common a religion agreeable to that reasonable nature, of which we equally partake; and since in point of property, our law makes no distinction of sexes.

We may therefore justly expect from them that they will act in concert with us for the preservation of our laws and religion, which cannot subsist, but under the government of his present majesty; and would necessarily

farily be subverted, under that of a person bred up in the most violent principles of popery and arbitrary power. Thus may the fair sex contribute to fix the peace of a brave and generous people, who for many ages, have disdained to bear any tyranny but theirs; and be as famous in history, as those illustrious matrons, who, in the infancy of *Rome*, reconciled the *Romans* and the *Sabines*, and united the two contending parties under their new king.



N^o 5. Friday, January 6.

Omnium societatum nulla est gravior, nulla carior, quam ea quae cum republica est unicuique nostrum: cari sunt parentes, cari liberi, propinqui, familiares: sed omnes omnium caritates patria una complexa est: pro qua quis bonus dubitet mortem oppetere, si ei sit profuturus?
CIC.

THERE is no greater sign of a general decay of virtue in a nation, than a want of zeal in its inhabitants for the good of their country. This generous and publick-spirited passion has been observed of late years to languish and grow cold in this our island; where a party of men have made it their business to represent it as chimerical and romantick, to destroy in the minds of the people the sense of national glory, and to turn into ridicule our natural and ancient allies, who are united to us by the common interests both of religion and policy. It may not therefore be unseasonable to recommend to this present generation the practice of that virtue, for which their ancestors were particularly famous, and which is called *The love of one's country*. This love to our country, as a moral virtue, is a fixed disposition of mind to promote the
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safety, welfare, and reputation of the community in which we are born, and of the constitution under which we are protected. Our obligation to this great duty, may appear to us from several considerations.

In the first place we may observe, that we are directed to it by one of those secret suggestions of nature, which go under the name of *instinct*, and which are never given in vain. As self-love is an instinct planted in us for the good and safety of each particular person, the love of our country is impressed on our minds for the happiness and preservation of the community. This instinct is so remarkable, that we find examples of it in those who are born in the most uncomfortable climates, or the worst of governments. We read of an inhabitant of *Nova Zembla*, who, after having lived some time in *Denmark*, where he was clothed and treated with the utmost indulgence, took the first opportunity of making his escape, though with the hazard of his life, into his native regions of cold, poverty, and nakedness. We have an instance of the same nature among the very *Hottentots*. One of these savages was brought into *England*, taught our language, and in a great measure polished out of his natural barbarity: but upon being carried back to the Cape of *Good Hope* (where it was thought he might have been of advantage to our *English* traders) he mixed in a kind of transport with his countrymen, brutalized with them in their habit and manners, and would never again return to his foreign acquaintance. I need not mention the common opinion of the *Negroes* in our plantations, who have no other notion of a future state of happiness, than that, after death, they shall be conveyed back to their native country. The *Swiss* are so remarkable for this passion, that it often turns to a disease among them; for which there is a particular name in the *German* language, and which the *French* call *The distemper of the country*: for nothing is more usual than for several of their common soldiers, who are lifted into a foreign service, to have such violent hankering after their home, as to pine away even to death, unless they have a permission to return; which, on such an occasion, is generally granted

granted them. I shall only add under this head, that since the love of one's country is natural to every man, any particular nation, who by false politicks shall endeavour to stifle or restrain it, will not be upon a level with others.

As this love of our country is natural to every man, so it is likewise very *reasonable*; and that in the first place, because it inclines us to be beneficial to those who are and ought to be dearer to us than any others. It takes in our families, relations, friends and acquaintance, and, in short, all whose welfare and security we are obliged to consult, more than that of those who are strangers to us. For this reason it is the most sublime and extensive of all social virtues: especially if we consider that it does not only promote the well-being of these who are our contemporaries, but likewise of their children and their posterity. Hence it is that all casuists are unanimous in determining, that when the good of the country interferes even with the life of the most beloved relation, dearest friend, or greatest benefactor, it is to be preferred without exception.

Farther, though there is a benevolence due to all mankind, none can question but a superior degree of it is to be paid to a father, a wife, or a child. In the same manner, though our love should reach to the whole species, a greater proportion of it should exert itself towards that community in which providence has placed us. This is our proper sphere of action, the province allotted to us for the exercise of all our civil virtues, and in which alone we have opportunities of expressing our good-will to mankind. I could not but be pleased in the accounts of the late *Persian* embassy into *France*, with a particular ceremony of the ambassador; who, every morning, before he went abroad, religiously saluted a turf of earth dug out of his own native soil, to remind him, that in all the transactions of the day he was to think of his country, and pursue its advantages. If in the several districts and divisions of the world, men would thus study the welfare of those respective communities, to which their power of doing good is limited, the whole race of reasonable creatures would

be happy, as far as the benefits of society can make them so. At least, we find so many blessings naturally flowing from this noble principle, that, in proportion as it prevails, every nation becomes a prosperous and flourishing people.

It may be yet a further recommendation of this particular virtue, if we consider, that no nation was ever famous for its morals, which was not at the same time remarkable for its publick spirit: patriots naturally rise out of a *Spartan* or *Roman* virtue: and there is no remark more common among the ancient historians, than that when the state was corrupted with avarice and luxury, it was in danger of being betrayed, or sold.

To the foregoing reasons for the love which every good man owes to his country, we may add, that the actions, which are most celebrated in history, and which are read with the greatest admiration, are such as proceed from this principle. The establishing of good laws, the detecting of conspiracies, the crushing of seditions and rebellions, the falling in battle, or the devoting of a man's self to certain death for the safety of fellow-citizens, are actions that always warm the reader, and endear to him persons of the remotest ages, and the most distant countries.

And as actions, that proceed from the love of one's country, are more illustrious than any other in the records of time; so we find that those persons, who have been eminent in other virtues, have been particularly distinguished by this. It would be endless to produce examples of this kind out of *Greek* and *Roman* authors. To confine myself therefore in so wide and beaten a field, I shall choose some instances from holy writ, which abounds in accounts of this nature, as much as any other history whatsoever. And this I do the more willingly, because in some books lately written, I find it objected against revealed religion, that it does not inspire the love of one's country. Here I must premise, that as the sacred author of our religion chiefly inculcated to the *Jews* those parts of their duty wherein they were most defective, so there was no need of insisting upon

upon this: the *Jews* being remarkable for an attachment to their own country, even to the exclusion of all common humanity to strangers. We see in the behaviour of this Divine Person, the practice of this virtue in conjunction with all others. He deferred working a miracle in the behalf of a *Syro-Phoenician* woman, till he had declared his superior good-will to his own nation; and was prevailed upon to heal the daughter of a *Roman* centurion, by hearing from the *Jews*, that he was one who lov'd their nation, and had built them a synagogue. But, to look out for no other instance, what was ever more moving, than his lamentation over *Jerusalem*, at his first approach to it, notwithstanding he had foretold the cruel and unjust treatment he was to meet with in that city! for he foresaw the destruction which in a few years was to fall upon that people; a destruction not to be paralleled in any nation, from the beginning of the world to this day; and in the view of it melted into tears. His followers have in many places expressed the like sentiments of affection for their countrymen, among which none is more extraordinary than that of the great convert, who wished he himself might be made a curse, provided it might turn to the happiness of his nation; or as he words it, *Of his brethren and kinsmen, who are Israelites*. This instance naturally brings to mind the some heroick temper of soul in the great *Jewish* law-giver, who would have devoted himself in the same manner, rather than see his people perish. It would indeed be difficult to find out any man of extraordinary piety in the sacred writings, in whom this virtue is not highly conspicuous. The reader however will excuse me, if I take notice of one passage, because it is a very fine one, and wants only a place in some polite author of *Greece* or *Rome*, to have been admired and celebrated. The king of *Syria* lying sick upon his bed, sent *Hazael* one of his great officers to the prophet *Elisha*, to enquire of him whether he should recover. The prophet looked so attentively on this messenger, that it put him into some confusion; or to quote this beautiful circumstance, and the whole narrative, in the pathetick language of

the scripture, Elisha settled his countenance stedfastly upon him, until he was ashamed: And Hazael said, why weepeth my lord? And he said, Because I know the evil that thou wilt do unto the children of Israel: their strong holds wilt thou set on fire, and their men wilt thou slay with the sword, and wilt dash their children, and rip up their women with child. And Hazael said, But what, is thy servant a dog, that he should do this great thing? And Elisha answered, The Lord hath shewed me, that thou shalt be king over Syria.

I might enforce these reasons for the love of our country, by considerations adapted to my readers, as they are *Englishmen*, and as by that means they enjoy a purer religion, and a more excellent form of government, than any other nation under heaven. But being persuaded that every one must look upon himself as indispensably obliged to the practice of a duty, which is recommended to him by so many arguments and examples, I shall only desire the honest well-meaning reader, when he turns his thoughts towards the publick, rather to consider what opportunities he has of doing good to his native country, than to throw away his time in deciding the rights of princes, or the like speculations, which are so far beyond his reach. Let us leave these great points to the wisdom of our legislature, and to the determination of those, who are the proper judges of our constitution. We shall otherwise be liable to the just reproach which is cast upon such Christians, as waste their lives in the subtle and intricate disputes of religion, when they should be practising the doctrine which it teaches. If there be any right upon earth, any relying on the judgment of our most eminent lawyers and divines, or indeed any certainty in human reason, our present sovereign has an undoubted title to our duty and obedience. But supposing for argument's sake, that this right were doubtful, and that an *Englishman* could be divided in his opinion, as to the person to whom he should pay his allegiance: in this case, there is no question, but the love of his country ought to cast the ballance, and to determine him on
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that side, which is most conducive to the welfare of his community. To bring this to our present case. A man must be destitute of common sense, who is capable of imagining that the Protestant religion could flourish under the government of a bigotted *Roman-Catholic*, or that our civil rights could be protected by one who has been trained up in the politicks of the most arbitrary prince in *Europe*, and who could not acknowledge his gratitude to his benefactor, by any remarkable instance, which would not be detrimental to the *British* nation. And are these such desirable blessings, that an honest man would endeavour to arrive at them, through the confusions of a civil war, and the blood of many thousands of his fellow-subjects? on the contrary, the arguments for our steady, loyal, and affectionate adherence to king *GEORGE*, are so evident from this single topic, that if every *Briton*, instead of aspiring after private wealth or power, would sincerely desire to make his country happy, his present majesty would not have a single malecontent in his whole dominions.



N^o 6. Monday, January 9.

Fraus enim astringit, non dissolvit perjurium. CIC.

AT a time when so many of the king's subjects present themselves before their respective magistrates to take the oaths required by law, it may not be improper to awaken in the minds of my readers a due sense of the engagement under which they lay themselves. It is a melancholy consideration that there should be several among us so hardened and deluded, as to think an oath a proper subject for a jest; and to make this, which is one of the most solemn acts of religion, an occasion of mirth. Yet such is the depravation of our manners at present, that nothing

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is more frequent than to hear profligate men ridiculing, to the best of their abilities, these sacred pledges of their duty and allegiance; and endeavouring to be witty upon themselves, for daring to prevaricate with God and man. A poor conceit of their own, or a quotation out of *Hudibras*, shall make them treat with levity an obligation wherein their safety and welfare are concerned both as to this world and the next. Raillery of this nature is enough to make the hearer tremble. As these miscreants seem to glory in the profession of their impiety, there is no man, who has any regard to his duty, or even to his reputation, that can appear in their defence. But if there are others of a more serious turn, who join with us deliberately in these religious professions of loyalty to our sovereign, with any private salvo's or evasions, they would do well to consider those maxims, in which all casuists are agreed, who have gained any esteem for their learning, judgment, or morality. These have unanimously determined that an oath is always to be taken in the sense of that authority which imposes it: and that those whose hearts do not concur with their lips in the form of these publick protestations; or who have any mental reserves, or who take an oath against their consciences, upon any motive whatsoever; or with a design to break it, or repent of it, are guilty of perjury. Any of these, or the like circumstances, instead of alleviating the crime, make it more heinous, as they are premeditated frauds (which it is the chief design of an oath to prevent) and the most flagrant instances of insincerity to men, and irreverence to their Maker. For this reason, the perjury of a man, who takes an oath, with an intention to keep it, and is afterwards seduced to the violation of it, (though a crime not to be thought of, without the greatest horror) is yet, in some respects, not quite so black as the perjury above-mentioned. It is indeed a very unhappy token of the great corruption of our manners, that there should be any so inconsiderate among us, as to sacrifice the standing and essential duties of morality, to the views of politicks; and that, as in my last paper, it was not unseasonable to
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prove the love of our country to be a virtue, so in this there should be any occasion to shew that perjury is a sin. But it is our misfortune to live in an age when such wild and unnatural doctrines have prevailed among some of our fellow-subjects, that if one looks into their schemes of government, they seem according as they are in the humour, to believe that a sovereign is not to be restrained by his coronation-oath, or his people by their oaths of allegiance: or to represent them in a plainer light, in some reigns they are both for a power and an obedience that is unlimited, and in others are for retrenching within the narrowest bounds, both the authority of the prince, and the allegiance of the subject.

Now the guilt of perjury is so self-evident, that it was always reckoned amongst the greatest crimes, by those who were only governed by the light of reason: The inviolable observing of an oath, like the other practical duties of Christianity, is a part of natural religion. As reason is common to all mankind, the dictates of it are the same through the whole species: and since every man's own heart will tell him that there can be no greater affront to the Deity, whom he worships, than to appeal to him with an intention to deceive; nor a greater injustice to men, than to betray them by false assurances; it is no wonder that Pagans and Christians, infidels and believers, should concur in a point wherein the honour of the supreme Being, and the welfare of society are so highly concerned. For this reason, *Pythagoras*, to his first precept of honouring the immortal Gods, immediately subjoins that of paying veneration to an oath. We may see the reverence which the heathens shewed to these sacred and solemn engagements, from the inconveniences which they often suffered, rather than break through them. We have frequent instances of this kind in the *Roman* commonwealth; which, as it has been observed by several eminent *Pagan* writers, very much excelled all other *Pagan* governments in the practice of virtue. How far they exceeded in this particular, those great corrupters of Christianity, and indeed of natural religion, the

the Jesuits, may appear from their abhorrence of every thing that looked like a fraudulent or mental evasion. Of this I shall only produce the following instance. Several *Romans*, who had been taken prisoners by *Hannibal*, were released, upon obliging themselves by an oath to return again to his camp. Among these there was one, who thinking to elude the oath, went the same day back to the camp, on pretence of having forgot something. But this prevarication was so shocking to the *Roman* senate, that they ordered him to be apprehended, and delivered up to *Hannibal*.

We may farther see the just sense the heathens had of the crime of perjury, from the penalties which they inflicted on the persons guilty of it. Perjury among the *Scythians* was a capital crime; and among the *Egyptians* also was punished with death, as *Diodorus Siculus* relates, who observes that an offender of this kind is guilty of those two crimes (wherein the malignity of perjury truly consists) a failing in his respect to the Divinity, and in his faith towards men. 'Tis unnecessary to multiply instances of this nature, which may be found in almost every author who has written on this subject.

If men, who had no other guide but their reason, considered an oath to be of such a tremendous nature, and the violation of it to be so great a crime; it ought to make a much deeper impression upon minds enlightened by revealed religion, as they have more exalted notions of the Divinity. A supposed heathen deity might be so poor in his attributes, so stinted in his knowledge, goodness, or power, that a *Pagan* might hope to conceal his perjury from his notice; or not to provoke him, should he be discovered; or should he provoke him, not to be punished by him. Nay, he might have produced examples of falsehood and perjury in the gods themselves, to whom he appealed. But as revealed religion has given us a more just and clear idea of the Divine Nature, he, whom we appeal to, is truth itself, the great searcher of hearts, who will not let fraud and falsehood go unpunished, or *hold him guiltless, that taketh his name in vain*. And as
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with regard to the Deity, so likewise with regard to man, the obligation of an oath is stronger upon Christians than upon any other part of mankind; and that because charity, truth, mutual confidence, and all other social duties, are carried to greater heights, and enforced with stronger motives by the principles of our religion.

Perjury, with relation to the oaths which are at present required of us, has in it all the aggravating circumstances, which can attend that crime. We take them before the magistrates of publick justice; are reminded by the ceremony, that it is a part of that obedience which we learn from the gospel; expressly disavow all evasions and mental reservations whatsoever; appeal to Almighty God for the integrity of our hearts, and only desire him to be our helper, as we fulfil the oath we there take in his presence. I mention these circumstances, to which several other might be added, because it is a received doctrine, among those who have treated of the nature of an oath, that the greater the solemnities are which attend it, the more they aggravate the violation of it. And here what must be the success that a man can hope for who turns a rebel, after having disclaimed the divine assistance, but upon condition of being a faithful and loyal subject? He first of all desires that God may help him, as he shall keep his oath, and afterwards hopes to prosper in an enterprize, which is the direct breach of it.

Since therefore perjury, by the common sense of mankind, the reason of the thing, and from the whole tenor of Christianity, is a crime of so flagitious a nature, we cannot be too careful in avoiding every approach towards it.

The virtue of the ancient *Athenians* is very remarkable in the case of *Euripides*. This great tragick poet, though famous for the morality of his plays, had introduced a person, who, being reminded of an oath he had taken, replied, *I swore with my mouth, but not with my heart*. The impiety of this sentiment set the audience in an uproar; made *Socrates* (though an intimate friend of the poet) go out of the theatre with indignation;

dignation ; and gave so great offence, that he was publicly accused, and brought upon his trial, as one who had suggested an evasion of what they thought the most holy and indissoluble bond of human society. So jealous were these virtuous heathens of any the smallest hint that might open a way to perjury.

And here it highly imports us to consider, that we do not only break our oath of allegiance by actual rebellion, but by all those other methods which have a natural and manifest tendency to it. The guilt may ly upon a man, where the penalty cannot take hold of him. Those who speak irreverently of the person to whom they have sworn allegiance ; who endeavour to alienate from him the hearts of his subjects ; or to inspire the people with disaffection to his government, cannot be thought to be true to the oath they have taken. And as for those who by concerted falsehoods and defamations endeavour to blemish his character, or weaken his authority, they incur the complicated guilt both of slander and perjury. The moral crime is compleated in such offenders, and there are only accidental circumstances wanting, to work it up for the cognizance of the law.

Nor is it sufficient for a man, who has given these solemn assurances to his prince, to forbear the doing him any evil, unless at the same time he do him all the good he can in his proper station of life.

Loyalty is of an active nature, and ought to discover itself in all the instances of zeal and affection to our sovereign : and, if we carefully examine the duty of that allegiance which we pledge to his majesty, by the oaths that are tendred to us, we shall find, that *We do not only renounce, refuse, and abjure any allegiance or obedience to the Pretender, but swear to defend king George to the utmost of our power, against all traiterous conspiracies and attempts whatsoever, and to disclose and make known to his majesty, all treasons and traiterous conspiracies, which we shall know to be against him.*

To conclude ; as among those who have bound themselves by these sacred obligations, the actual traitor or
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rebel is guilty of perjury in the eye of the law; the secret promoter or well-wisher of the cause, is so before the tribunal of conscience. And though I should be unwilling to pronounce the man who is indolent, or indifferent in the cause of his prince, to be absolutely perjured; I may venture to affirm, that he falls very short of that allegiance to which he is obliged by oath. Upon the whole we may be assured, that in a nation which is tied down by such religious and solemn engagements, the people's loyalty will keep pace with their morality; and that in proportion as they are sincere Christians, they will be faithful subjects.



N^o 7. Friday, January 13.

Veritas pluribus modis infracta: primum inscita reipublicae, ut alienae; mox libidine assentandi, aut rursus odio adversus dominantes. Obtreptatio et livor pronis auribus accipiuntur: quippe adulationi foedum crimen servitutis, malignitati falsa species libertatis inest.

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THERE is no greater sign of a bad cause, than when the patrons of it are reduced to the necessity of making use of the most wicked artifices to support it. Of this kind are the falsehoods and calumnies, which are invented and spread abroad by the enemies to our king and country. This spirit of malice and slander does not discover itself in any instances so ridiculous, as in those, by which seditious men endeavour to depreciate his majesty's person and family; without considering that his court at *Hanover* was always allowed to be one of the politest in *Europe*, and that, before he became our king, he was reckoned amongst the greatest princes of *Christendom*.

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But the most glorious of his majesty's predecessors was treated after the same manner. Upon that prince's first arrival, the inconsiderable party, who then laboured to make him odious to the people, gave out, That he brought with him twenty thousand *Laplanders*, cloathed in the skins of bears, all of their own killing; and that they mutinied because they had not been regaled with a bloody battle within two days after their landing. He was no sooner on the throne, than those, who had contributed to place him there, finding that he had made some changes at court which were not to their humour, endeavoured to render him unpopular by misrepresentations of his person, his character, and his actions. They found that his nose had a resemblance to that of *Oliver Cromwell*, and clapt him on a huge pair of mustachoes to frighten his people with: His mercy was fear; his justice was cruelty; his temperance, oeconomy, prudent behaviour, and application to business, were *Dutch* virtues; and such as we had not been used to in our *English* kings. He did not fight a battle, in which the *Tories* did not slay double the number of what he had lost in the field; nor ever raised a siege, or gained a victory, which did not cost more than it was worth. In short, he was contriving the ruin of his kingdom; and in order to it advanced *Dr. Tillotson* to the highest station of the church, my lord *Sommers* of the law, Mr. *Mountague* of the treasury, and the admiral at *la Hogue* of the fleet. Such were the calumnies of the party in those times, which we see so faithfully copied out by men of the same principles under the reign of his present majesty.

As the schemes of these gentlemen are the most absurd and contradictory to common sense, the means by which they are promoted must be of the same nature. Nothing but weakness and folly can dispose *Englishmen* and *Protestants* to the interests of a *Papish Pretender*: and the same abilities of mind will naturally qualify his adherents to swallow the most palpable and notorious falsehoods. Their self-interested and designing leaders cannot desire a more ductile and easy people

to work upon. How long was it before many of this simple deluded tribe were brought to believe, that the *Highlanders* were a generation of men that could be conquered! The rabble of the party were instructed to look upon them as so many *Giants* and *Saracens*; and were very much surprized to find that every one of them had not with his broad sword mowed down at least a squadron of the king's forces. There were not only publick rejoicings in the camp at *Perth*, but likewise many private congratulations nearer us, among these well-wishers to their country, upon the victories of their friends at *Preston*; which continued till the rebels made their solemn cavalcade from *Highbate*. Nay, there were then some of these wise partizans, who concluded, the government had hired two or three hundred hale men, who looked like fox-hunters, to be bound and pinioned, if not to be executed, as representatives of the pretended captives. Their victories in *Scotland* have been innumerable; and no longer ago than last week, they gained a very remarkable one, in which the *Highlanders* cut off all the *Dutch* forces to a man; and afterwards disguising themselves in their habits, came up as friends to the king's troops, and put them all to the sword. This story had a great run for a day or two; and I believe one might still find out a whisper among their secret intelligence, that the duke of *Mar* is actually upon the road to *London*, if not within two day's march of the town. I need not take notice that their successes in the battle of *Dunblain* are magnified among some of them to this day; though a *Tory* may very well say with king *Pyrrhus*, *That such another victory would undo them.*

But the most fruitful source of falsehood and calumny, is that which, one would think, should be the least apt to produce them; I mean a pretended concern for the safety of our established religion. Were these people as anxious for the doctrines which are essential to the church of *England*, as they are for the nominal distinction of adhering to its interests, they would know, that the sincere observation of publick oaths,

allegiance to their king, submission to their bishops, zeal against popery, and abhorrence of rebellion, are the great points that adorn the character of the church of *England*, and in which the authors of the reformed religion in this nation have always gloried. We justly reproach the *Jesuits*, who have adapted all Christianity to temporal and political views, for maintaining a position so repugnant to the laws of nature, morality and religion, That evil may be committed, for the sake of good, which may arise from it. But we cannot suppose even this principle, (as bad a one as it is) should influence those persons, who, by so many absurd and monstrous falsehoods, endeavour to delude men into a belief of the danger of the church. If there be any relying on the solemn declarations of a prince, famed for keeping his word, constant in the publick exercises of our religion, and determined in the maintenance of our laws, we have all the assurances that can be given to us, for the security of the established church under his government. When a leading man therefore begins to grow apprehensive for the church, you may be sure that he is either in danger of losing a place, or in despair of getting one. It is pleasant on these occasions, to see a notorious profligate seized with a concern for his religion, and converting his spleen into zeal. These narrow and selfish views have so great an influence in this cry, that, among those who call themselves the landed interest, there are several of my fellow free-holders, who always fancy the church in danger upon the rising of the bank-stock. But the standing absurdities, without the belief of which no man is reckoned a staunch churchman, are, That there is a Calve's Head club; for which (by the way) some pious *Tory* has made suitable hymns and devotions: that there is a confederacy among the greatest part of the Prelates to destroy Episcopacy; and that all who talk against *Popery*, are *Presbyterians* in their hearts. The emissaries of the party are so diligent in spreading ridiculous fictions of this kind, that at present, if we may credit common report, there are several remote parts of the nation in which it is firmly believed,

believed, that all the churches in *London* are shut up, and that if any clergyman walks the street in his habit, it is ten to one but he is knocked down by some sturdy schismatick.

We may observe upon this occasion, that there are many particular falsehoods suited to the particular climates and latitudes in which they are published, according as the situation of the place makes them less liable to discovery: there is many a lye, that will not thrive within a hundred miles of *London*: nay, we often find a lye born in *Southwark*, that dies the same day on this side the water: and several produced in the loyal ward of *Port-foken* of so feeble a make, as not to bear carriage to the *Royal Exchange*. However, as the mints of calumny are perpetually at work, there are a great number of curious inventions issued out from time to time, which grow current among the party, and circulate through the whole kingdom.

As the design of this paper is not to exasperate, but to undeceive my countrymen, let me desire them to consider the many inconveniencies they bring upon themselves by these mutual intercourses of credulity and falsehood. I shall only remind the credulous of the strong delusion they have by this means been led into the greatest part of their lives. Their hopes have been kept up by a succession of lyes for near thirty years. How many persons have starved in expectation of those profitable employments which were promised them by the authors of these forgeries! How many of them have died with great regret, when they thought they were within a month of enjoying the inestimable blessings of a popish and arbitrary reign!

I would therefore advise this blinded set of men, not to give credit to those persons, by whom they have been so often fooled and imposed upon; but on the contrary to think it an affront to their parts, when they hear from any of them such accounts, as they would not dare to tell them, but upon the presumption that they are idiots. Or if their zeal for the cause shall dispose them to be credulous in any points that are favourable to it, I would beg of them not to venture wagers upon

the truth of them : and in this present conjuncture, by no means to sell out of the stocks upon any news they shall hear from their good friends at *Perth*. As these party fictions are the proper subjects of mirth and laughter, their deluded believers are only to be treated with pity or contempt. But as for those incendiaries of figure and distinction, who are the inventors and publishers of such gross falsehoods and calumnies, they cannot be regarded by others, but with the utmost detestation and abhorrence; nor, one would think, by themselves, without the greatest remorse and compunction of heart; when they consider, that in order to give a spirit to a desperate cause, they have, by their false and treacherous insinuations and reports, betrayed so many of their friends into their own destruction.

N^o 8.

Monday, January 16.

*Adveniet qui vestra dies muliebribus armis
Verba redarguerit.*

VIRG.

I HAVE heard that several ladies of distinction, upon the reading of my fourth paper, are studying methods how to make themselves useful to the publick. One has a design of keeping an open tea-table where every man shall be welcome that is a friend to king *George*. Another is for setting up an assembly for Basset, where none shall be admitted to *Punt*, that have not taken the oaths. A third is upon an invention of a dress which will put every *Tory* lady out of countenance : I am not informed of the particulars, but am told in general, that she has contrived to shew her principles by the setting of her commode; so that it will be impossible for any woman, that is *disaffected*, to be in the fashion. Some of them are of opinion that the fan may be made use of, with good success, against Popery, by exhibiting the corruptions of the church of

Rome

Rome in various figures ; and that their abhorrence of the superstitious use of beads, may be very aptly expressed in the make of a pearl necklace. As for the civil part of our constitution, it is unanimously agreed among the leaders of the sex, that there is no glory in making a man their slave, who has not naturally a passion for liberty ; and to disallow of all professions of passive-obedience, but from a lover to his mistress.

It happens very luckily for the interest of the *Whigs*, that their very enemies acknowledge the finest women of *Great-Britain* to be of that party. The *Tories* are forced to borrow their toasts from their antagonists ; and can scarce find beauties enow of their own side, to supply a single round of *October*. One may, indeed, sometimes discover among the malignants of the sex, a face that seems to have been naturally designed for a *Whig* lady : but then it is so often flushed with rage, or soured with disappointments, that one cannot but be troubled to see it thrown away upon the owner. Would the pretty malecontent be persuaded to love her king and country, it would diffuse a chearfulness through all her features, and give her quite another air. I would therefore advise these my gentle readers, as they consult the good of their faces, to forbear frowning upon loyalists, and pouting at the government. In the mean time, what may we not hope from a cause, which is recommended by the allurements of beauty, and the force of truth ! It is therefore to be hoped that every fine woman will make this laudable use of her charms ; and that she may not want to be frequently reminded of this great duty, I will only desire her to think of her country every time she looks in her glass.

But because it is impossible to prescribe such rules, as shall be suitable to the sex, in general, I shall consider them under their several divisions of maids, wives, and widows.

As for virgins, who are unexperienced in the wiles of men, they would do well to consider how little they are to rely on the faith of lovers, who in less than a year have broken their allegiance to their lawful sovereign ; and what credit is to be given to the vows and pro-

protestations of such who shew themselves so little afraid of perjury. Besides, what would an innocent young lady think, should she marry a man without examining his principles, and afterwards find herself got with child by a rebel?

In the next place, every wife ought to answer for her man. If the husband be engaged in a seditious club, or drinks mysterious healths, or be frugal of his candles on a rejoicing night, let her look to him, and keep him out of harm's way; or the world will be apt to say, she has a mind to be a widow before her time. She ought in such cases to exert the authority of the curtain lecture; and if she finds him of a rebellious disposition, to tame him, as they do birds of prey, by dinning him in the ears all night long.

Widows may be supposed women of too good sense not to discountenance all practices, that have a tendency to the destruction of mankind. Besides they have a greater interest in property than either maids or wives, and do not hold their jointures by the precarious tenure of portions or pin-money. So that it is as unnatural for a dowager, as a free-holder, to be an enemy to our constitution.

As nothing is more instructive than examples, I would recommend to the perusal of our *British* virgins, the story of *Clelia* a *Roman* spinster, whose behaviour is represented by all their historians, as one of the chief motives that discouraged the *Tarquins* from prosecuting their attempt to regain the throne, from whence they had been expelled. Let the married women reflect upon the glory acquired by the wife of *Coriolanus*, who, when her husband, after long exile, was returning into his country with fire and sword, diverted him from so cruel and unnatural an enterprize. And let those who have out-lived their husbands never forget their country-woman widow *Boadicia*, who headed her troops in person against the invasion of a *Roman* army, and encouraged them with this memorable saying, *I, who am a woman, am resolved upon victory or death: but as for you who are men, you may, if you please, choose life and slavery.*

But

But I do not propose to our *British* ladies, that they should turn *Amazons* in the service of their sovereign, nor so much as let their nails grow for the defence of their country. The men will take the work of the field off their hands, and shew the world, that *English* valour cannot be matched, when it is animated by *English* beauty. I do not however disapprove the project which is now on foot for a *FEMALE ASSOCIATION*; and, since I hear the fair confederates cannot agree among themselves upon a form, shall presume to lay before them the following rough draught, to be corrected or improved, as they in their wisdom shall think fit.

‘ **W**E the consorts, relict, and spinsters of the isle
 ‘ of *Great-Britain*, whose names are under-writ-
 ‘ ten being most passionately offended at the falsehood
 ‘ and perfidiousness of certain faithless men, and at the
 ‘ luke-warmth and indifference of others, have entered
 ‘ into a voluntary association for the good and safety
 ‘ of our constitution, and we do hereby engage our-
 ‘ selves to raise and arm our vassals for the service of
 ‘ his majesty king *George*, and him to defend with our
 ‘ tongues and hearts, our eyes, eye-lashes, favourites,
 ‘ lips, dimples, and every other feature, whether na-
 ‘ tural or acquired. We promise publickly and openly
 ‘ to avow the loyalty of our principles in every word
 ‘ we shall utter, and every patch we shall stick on. We
 ‘ do farther promise, to annoy the enemy with all the
 ‘ flames, darts and arrows with which nature has armed
 ‘ us, never to correspond with them by sigh, ogle, or
 ‘ billet-doux; not to have any intercourse with them
 ‘ either in snuff or tea; nor to accept the civility of
 ‘ any man’s hand, who is not ready to use it in the
 ‘ defence of his country. We are determined in so
 ‘ good a cause to endure the greatest hardships and se-
 ‘ verities, if there should be occasion; and even to wear
 ‘ the manufacture of our country, rather than appear
 ‘ the friends of a foreign interest in the richest *French*
 ‘ brocade. And forgetting all private feuds, jealousies
 ‘ and animosities, we do unanimously oblige ourselves,
 ‘ by

‘ by this our association, to stand and fall by one another, as loyal and faithful sisters, and fellow-subjects.’

N. B. This association will be lodged at Mr. *Moteux's*, where attendance will be given to the subscribers, who are to be ranged in their respective columns, as maids, wives, and widows.



N^o 9. Friday, January 20.

*Consilia qui dant prava cautis hominibus,
Et perdunt operam, et deridentur turpiter.* PHAED.

THOUGH I have already seen, in the *Town-talk*, a letter from a celebrated *Englishman* to the pretender, which is indeed an excellent answer to his declaration, the title of this paper obliges me to publish the following piece, which considers it in different lights.

*The Declaration of the Free-holders of Great-Britain,
in answer to that of the Pretender.*

WE, by the mercy of God, free-holders of *Great-Britain*, to the pious pretender, who styles himself king of *Scotland* and *England*, and defender of our faith, **DEFIANCE**. Having seen a libel, which you have lately published against the king and people of these realms under the title of a **DECLARATION**, We, in justice to the sentiments of our own hearts, have thought fit to return you the following answer; wherein we shall endeavour to reduce to method the several particulars, which you have contrived to throw together with much malice, and no less confusion.

We believe you sincere in the first part of your declaration, where you own it would be a great satisfaction to you to be placed upon the throne by our endeavours:

yours:

vours: but you discourage us from making use of them, by declaring it to be your right *both by the laws of God and man*. As for the laws of God, we should think ourselves great transgressors of them, should we for your sake rebel against a prince, who, under God, is the most powerful defender of that religion which we think the most pleasing to him: and as for the laws of man, we conceive those to be of that kind, which have been enacted from time to time for near thirty years past against you and your pretensions, by the legislature of this kingdom.

You afterwards proceed to invectives against the royal family: which we do assure you is a very unpopular topick, except to your few deluded friends among the rabble.

You call them *aliens to our country*, not considering that king *George* has lived above a year longer in *England* than ever you did. You say they are *distant in blood*, whereas no body ever doubted that king *George* is great grandson to king *James* the first, though many believe that you are not son to king *James* the second. Besides, all the world acknowledges he is the nearest to our crown of the protestant blood, of which you cannot have one drop in your veins, unless you derive it from such parents as you don't care for owning.

Your next argument against the royal family, is, that they are *strangers to our language*: but they must be strangers to the *British* court who have told you so. However you must know, that we plain men should prefer a king who was a stranger to our language, before one who is a stranger to our laws and religion: for we could never endure *French* sentiments, though delivered in our native dialect; and should abhor an arbitrary prince, though he tyrannized over us in the finest *English* that ever was spoken. For these reasons, Sir, we cannot bear the thought of hearing a man, that has been bred up in the politicks of *Lewis* the fourteenth, talk intelligibly from the *British* throne; especially when we consider, however he may boast of his speaking *English*, he says his prayers in an unknown tongue.

We come now to the grievances for which, in your opinion,

opinion, we ought to take up arms against our present sovereign. The greatest you seem to insist upon, and which is most in the mouths of your party, is the union of the two kingdoms ; for which his majesty ought most certainly to be deposed, because it was made under the reign of her, whom you call your *dear sister of glorious memory*. Other grievances which you hint at under his majesty's administration, are the murder of king *Charles* the first, who was beheaded before king *George* was born ; and the sufferings of king *Charles* the second, which perhaps his present majesty cannot wholly clear himself of, because he came into the world a day before his restoration.

As on the one side you arraign his present majesty by this most extraordinary retrospect, on the other hand you condemn his government by what we may call the spirit of second sight. You are not content to draw into his reign those mischiefs that were done a hundred years ago, unless you anticipate those that may happen a hundred years hence. So that the keenest of your arrows either fall short of him, or fly over his head. We take it for a certain sign that you are at a loss for present grievances, when you are thus forced to have recourse to your *future prospects, and future miseries*. Now, Sir, you must know, that we free-holders have a natural aversion to hanging, and do not know how to answer it to our wives and families, if we should venture our necks upon the truth of your prophecies. In our ordinary way of judging, we guess at the king's future conduct by what we have seen already ; and therefore beg you will excuse us, if for the present we defer entering into a rebellion, to which you so graciously invite us. When we have as bad a prospect of our king *George's* reign, as we should have of yours, then will be your time to date another declaration from your court at *Commercy* : which, if we may be allowed to prophesy in our turn, cannot possibly happen before the hundred and fiftieth year of your reign.

Having considered the past and future grievances mentioned in your declaration, we come now to the present ; all of which are founded upon this supposition, that

that whatever is done by his majesty or his ministers to keep you out of the *British* throne, is a grievance. These Sir, may be grievances to you, but they are none to us. On the contrary, we look upon them as the greatest instances of his majesty's care and tenderness for his people. To take them in order: The first relates to the ministry; who are chosen, as you observe very rightly, out of the worst, and not the best of your subjects. Now, Sir, can you in conscience think us to be such fools as to rebel against the king, for having employed those who are his most eminent friends, and were the greatest sufferers in his cause before he came to the crown; and for having removed a general who is now actually in arms against him, and two secretaries of state, both of whom have listed themselves in your service; or because he chose to substitute in their places such men who had distinguished themselves by their zeal against you, in the most famous battles, negotiations, and debates?

The second grievance you mention, is, that the glory of the late queen has suffered, who, you insinuate, *had secured to you the enjoyment of that inheritance out of which you had been so long kept.* This may indeed be a reason why her memory should be precious with you: but you may be sure we shall think never the better of her, for her having your good word. For the same reason it makes us stare, when we hear it objected to his present majesty, *that he is not kind to her faithful servants*; since, if we can believe what you yourself say, it is impossible they should be *his faithful servants*. And by the way, many of your private friends here wish you would forbear blabbing at this rate: for, to tell you a secret, we are very apt to suspect that any *Englishman*, who deserves your praise, deserves to be hanged.

The next grievance, which you have a mighty mind to redress among us, is the parliament of *Great-Britain*, against whom you bring a stale accusation which has been used by every minority in the memory of man; namely, that it was procured by unwarrantable influences and corruptions. We cannot indeed blame you

for being angry at those, who have set such a round price upon your head. Your accusation of our high court of parliament, puts us in mind of a story, often told among us *free-holders*, concerning a rattle-brain'd young fellow, who being indicted for two or three pranks upon the high way, told the judge he would swear the peace against him, for putting him in fear of his life.

The next grievance is such a one, that we are amazed how it could come into your head. Your words are as follow. *Whilst the principal powers engaged in the late wars do enjoy the blessings of peace, and are attentive to discharge their debts, and ease their people, Great-Britain in the midst of peace feels all the load of war. New debts are contracted, new armies are raised at home, Dutch forces are brought into these kingdoms.* What in the name of wonder do you mean? Are you in earnest, or do you design to banter us? Whom is the nation obliged to for all this load of war that it feels? Had you been wise enough to have slept at *Barleduc* in a whole skin, we should not have contracted new debts, raised new armies, or brought over *Dutch* forces to make an example of you.

The most pleasant grievance is still behind, and indeed a most proper one to close up this article. *King George has taken possession of the dutchy of Bremen, whereby a door is opened to let in an inundation of foreigners from abroad, and to reduce these nations to the state of a province to one of the most inconsiderable provinces of the empire.* And do you then really believe the mob-story, that king *George* designs to make a bridge of boats from *Hanover* to *Wapping*? We would have you know that some of us read *Baker's* chronicle, and don't find that *William* the conqueror ever thought of making *England* a province to his native dutchy of *Normandy*, notwithstanding it lay so much more convenient for that purpose: nor that king *James* the first had ever any thoughts of reducing this nation to the state of a province to his ancient kingdom of *Scotland*, though it lies upon the same continent. But pray how comes it to pass that the electorate of *Hanover* is become all of a sudden one of the most inconsiderable provinces of the empire?

empire? If you undervalue it upon the account of its religion, you have some reason for what you say; though you should not think we are such strangers to maps, and live so much out of the world, as to be ignorant that it is for power and extent the second Protestant state in *Germany*; and whether you know it or no, the Protestant religion in the empire is looked upon as a sufficient ballance against Popery. Besides, you should have considered that in your declaration upon the king's coming to the throne of *Great-Britain*, you endeavoured to terrify us from receiving him, by representing him as a powerful foreign prince, supported by a numerous army of his own subjects. Be that as it will; we are no more afraid of being a province to *Hanover*, than the *Hanoverians* are apprehensive of being a province to *Bremen*.

We have now taken notice of those great evils, which you are come to rescue us from: but as they are such as we have neither felt or seen, we desire you will put yourself to no farther trouble for our sakes.

You afterwards begin a kind of *Te Deum*, before the time, in that remarkable sentence, *we adore the wisdom of the divine providence, which has opened a way to our restoration, by the success of those very measures that were laid to disappoint us for ever*. We are at a loss to know what you mean by this devout jargon: but by what goes before and follows, we suppose it to be this: That the coming of king *George* to the crown, has made many malecontents, and by that means opened a way to your restoration: whereas you should consider, that if he had not come to the crown the way had been open of itself. In the same pious paragraph, *you most earnestly conjure us to pursue those methods for your restoration, which the finger of God seems to point out to us*. Now the only methods which we can make use of for that end, are, civil war, rapine, bloodshed, treason, and perjury; methods which we Protestants do humbly conceive, can never be pointed out to us by the finger of God.

The rest of your declaration contains the encouragements you give us to rebel. First, You promise to share

with us *all dangers and difficulties* which we shall meet with in this worthy enterprize : you are very much in the right on't : you have nothing to lose, and hope to get a crown. We do not hope for any new free-holds, and only desire to keep what we have. As therefore you are in the right to undergo dangers and difficulties to make yourself our master, we shall think ourselves as much in the right to undergo dangers and difficulties to hinder you from being so.

Secondly, You promise to *refer your and our interest to a Scots parliament*, which you are resolved to call immediately. We suppose you mean if the frost holds. But, Sir, we are certainly informed there is a parliament now sitting at *Westminster*, that are busy at present in taking care both of the *Scots and English* interest, and have actually done every thing which you would let be done by our representatives in the Highlands.

Thirdly, You promise *that if we will rebel for you against our present sovereign, you will remit and discharge all crimes of high treason, misprision, and all other crimes and offences whatsoever, done or committed against you or your father*. But will you answer in this case that king *George* will forgive us ? otherwise we beseech you to consider what poor comfort it would be for a *British* free-holder to be conveyed up *Holbourn*, with your pardon in his pocket. And here we cannot but remark, that the conditions of your general pardon are so stinted, as to shew that you are very cautious lest your good-nature should carry you too far. You exclude from the benefit of it, all those who do not *from the time of your landing lay hold on mercy, and return to their duty and allegiance*. By this means all neutrals and lookers-on are to be executed of course : and by the studied ambiguity in which you couch the terms of your gracious pardon, you still leave room to gratify yourself in all the pleasures of tyranny and revenge.

Upon the whole, we have so bad an opinion of rebellion, as well as of your motives to it, and rewards for it, that you may rest satisfied, there are few free-holders on this side the *Forth* who will engage in it : and we verily believe that you will suddenly take a resolution

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tion in your cabinet of *Highlanders*, to scamper off with your new crown, which we are told the ladies of those parts have so generously clubbed for. And you may assure yourself that it is the only one you are like to get by this notable expedition. And so we bid you heartily farewell.

Dated Jan. 19. in the second year of our publick happiness.



N^o 10. *Monday, January 23.*

Potior visa est, periculosa libertas quieto servitio. SALL.

ONE may venture to affirm, that all honest and disinterested *Britons* of what party soever, if they understood one another, are of the same opinion in points of government : and that the grofs of the people, who are imposed upon by terms which they do not comprehend, are *Whigs* in their hearts. They are made to believe, that passive obedience and non-resistance, unlimited power and indefeasible right, have something of a venerable and religious meaning in them ; whereas in reality they only imply that a king of *Great-Britain* has a right to be a tyrant, and that his subjects are obliged in conscience to be slaves. Were the case truly and fairly laid before them, they would know, that when they make a profession of such principles, they renounce their legal claim to liberty and property, and unwarily submit to what they really abhor.

It is our happiness, under the present reign, to hear our king from the throne exhorting us to be *zealous assertors of the liberties of our country* ; which exclude all pretensions to an arbitrary, tyrannick, or despotick power. Those, who have the misfortune to live under such a power, have no other law but the will of their prince, and consequently no privileges, but what are

precarious. For though in some arbitrary governments there may be a body of laws observed in the ordinary forms of justice, they are not sufficient to secure any rights to the people; because they might be dispensed with, or laid aside at the pleasure of the sovereign.

And here it very much imports us to consider, that arbitrary power naturally tends to make a man a bad sovereign, who might possibly have been a good one, had he been invested with an authority limited and circumscribed by laws. None can doubt of this tendency in arbitrary power, who consider, that it fills the mind of man with great and unreasonable conceits of himself; raises him into a belief, that he is of a superior species to his subjects; extinguishes in him the principle of fear, which is one of the greatest motives to all duties; and creates an ambition of magnifying himself, by the exertion of such a power in all its instances. So great is the danger, that when a sovereign can do what he will, he will do what he can.

One of the most arbitrary princes in our age was *Muley Ishmael*, emperor of *Morocco*, who, after a long reign, died about a twelve-month ago. This prince was a man of much wit and natural sense, of an active temper, undaunted courage, and great application. He was a descendent of *Mahomet*; and so exemplary for his adherence to the law of his prophet, that he abstained all his life from the taste of wine; began the annual feast, or *Lent* of *Ramadin*, two months before his subjects; was frequent in his prayers; and, that he might not want opportunities of kneeling, had fixed in all the spacious courts of his palace large consecrated stones pointing towards the East, for any occasional exercise of his devotion. What might not have been hoped from a prince of these endowments, had they not all been rendered useless and ineffectual to the good of his people by the notion of that power which they ascribed to him! This will appear, if we consider how he exercised it towards his subjects in those three great points which are the chief ends of government, the preservation of their lives, the security of their fortunes, and the determinations of justice between man and man.

Foreign

Foreign envoys, who have given an account of their audiences, describe this holy man mounted on horseback in an open court, with several of his *Alcaydes*, or governors of provinces about him, standing barefoot, trembling, bowing to the earth, and at every word he spoke, breaking out into passionate exclamations of praise, as, *Great is the wisdom of our lord the king; Our lord the king speaks as an angel from heaven.* Happy was the man among them, who was so much a favourite as to be sent on an errand to the most remote street in his capital; which he performed with the greatest alacrity, ran through every puddle that lay in his way, and took care to return out of breath and covered with dirt, that he might shew himself a diligent and faithful minister. His majesty at the same time, to exhibit the greatness of his power, and shew his horsemanship, seldom dismissed the foreigner from his presence, till he had entertained him with the slaughter of two or three of his liege subjects, whom he very dexterously put to death with the tilt of his lance. *St. Olon*, the *French* envoy, tells us, that when he had his last audience of him, he received him in robes just stained with an execution; and that he was blooded up to his elbows by a couple of *Moors*, whom he had been butchering with his own imperial hands. By the calculation of that author, and many others, who have since given an account of his exploits, we may reckon that by his own arm he killed above forty thousand of his people. To render himself the more awful, he chose to wear a garb of a particular colour when he was bent upon execution; so that when he appeared in yellow, his great men hid themselves in corners, and durst not pay their court to him, till he had satiated his thirst of blood by the death of some of his loyal commoners, or of such unwary officers of state as chanced to come in his way. Upon this account we are told, that the first news enquired after every morning at *Mequinez*, was, whether the emperor were stirring, and in a good humour? As this prince was a great admirer of architecture, and employed many thousands in works of that kind, if he did not approve the plan of the performance, it was usual for him

him to shew the delicacy of his taste by demolishing the building, and putting to death all that had a hand in it. I have heard but of one instance of his mercy; which was shewn to the master of an *English* vessel. This our countryman presented him with a curious hatchet, which he received very graciously; and asking him whether it had a good edge, tryed it upon the donor, who slipping aside from the blow, escaped with the loss only of his right ear; for old *Muley*, upon second thoughts, considering that it was not one of his own subjects, stopped his hand, and would not send him to paradise. I cannot quit this article of his tenderness for the lives of his people, without mentioning one of his queens, whom he was remarkably fond of; as also a favourite prime minister who was very dear to him. The first died by a kick of her lord the king, when she was big with child, for having gathered a flower as she was walking with him in his pleasure garden. The other was bastinadoed to death by his majesty; who, repenting of the drubs he had given him when it was too late, to manifest his esteem for the memory of so worthy a man, executed the surgeon that could not cure him.

This absolute monarch was as notable a guardian of the fortunes, as of the lives of his subjects. When any man among his people grew rich, in order to keep him from being dangerous to the state, he used to send for all his goods and chattels. His governors of towns and provinces, who formed themselves upon the example of their *Grand Monarque*, practised rapine, violence, extortion, and all the arts of despotick government in their respective districts, that they might be the better enabled to make him their yearly presents. For the greatest of his viceroys could only propose to himself a comfortable subsistence out of the plunder of his province, and was in certain danger of being recalled or hanged, if he did not remit the bulk of it to his dread sovereign. That he might make a right use of these prodigious treasures, which flowed in to him from all the parts of his wide empire, he took care to bury them under ground, by the hands of his most trusty slaves, and then cut their throats, as the most effectual method

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to keep them from making discoveries. These were his *ways* and *means* for raising money, by which he weakened the hands of the factious, and in any case of emergency could employ the whole wealth of his empire, which he had thus amassed together in his subterraneous exchequer.

As there is no such thing as property under an arbitrary government, you may learn what was *Muley Ishmael's* notion of it from the following story. Being upon the road, amidst his life-guards, a little before the time of the *Ram-Feast*, he met one of his *Alcaydes* at the head of his servants, who were driving a great flock of sheep to market. The emperor asked whose they were: The *Alcayde* answered with profound submission, *They are mine, O Ishmael, son of Elcherif, of the line of Hassan. Thine! thou son of a cuckold,* said this SERVANT OF THE LORD, *I thought I had been the only proprietor in this country;* upon which he run him through the body with his lance, and very piously distributed the sheep among his guards for the celebration of the feast.

His determinations of justice between man and man, were indeed very summary and decisive, and generally put an end to the vexations of a law-suit, by the ruin both of plaintiff and defendant. Travellers have recorded some sample of this kind, which may give us an idea of the blessings of his administration. One of his *Alcaydes* complaining to him of a wife, whom he had received from his majesty's hands, and therefore could not divorce her, that she used to pull him by the beard; the emperor, to redress this grievance, ordered his beard to be plucked up by the roots, that he might not be liable to any more such affronts. A country farmer having accused some of his negro guards for robbing him of a drove of oxen, the emperor readily shot the offenders: but afterwards demanding reparation of the accuser, for the loss of so many brave fellows, and finding him insolvent, compounded the matter with him by taking away his life. There are many other instances of the same kind. I must observe however under this head, that the only good thing he is celebrated

brated for, during his whole reign, was the clearing of the roads and highways of robbers, with which they used to be very much infested. But his method was to slay man, woman, and child, who lived within a certain distance from the place, where the robbery was committed. This extraordinary piece of justice could not but have its effect, by making every road in his empire unsafe for the profession of a free-booter.

I must not omit this emperor's reply to Sir *Cloudesty Shovel*, who had taken several of his subjects by way of reprisal for the *English* captives that were detained in his dominions. Upon the admiral's offering to exchange them on very advantageous terms, this good emperor sent him word, the subjects he had taken were poor men, not worth the ransoming; and that he might throw them over board, or destroy them otherwise, as he pleased.

Such was the government of *Muley Ishmael*, the servant of God, the emperor of the faithful, who was courageous in the way of the Lord, the noble, the good.

To conclude this account, which is extracted from the best authorities: I shall only observe that he was a great admirer of his late most Christian majesty. In a letter to him, he compliments him with the title of *sovereign arbiter of the actions and wills of his people*. And in a book published by a *French* man, who was sent to him as an ambassador, is the following passage, *He is absolute in his states, and often compares himself to the emperor of France, who he says is the only person that knows how to reign like himself, and to make his will the law*.

This was that emperor of *France*, to whom the person who has a great mind to be king of these realms owed his education, and from whom he learned his notions of government. What should hinder one, whose mind is so well seasoned with such prepossessions, from attempting to copy after his patron, in the exercise of such a power; especially considering that the party who espouse his interest, never fail to compliment a prince that distributes all his places among them, with

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unlimited power on his part, and unconditional obedience on that of his subjects.



N^O II. Friday, January 27.

HONI SOIT QUI MAL Y PENSE.

BY our latest advices, both from town and country, it appears, that the ladies of *Great-Britain*, who are *able to bear arms*, that is, to smile or frown to any purpose, have already begun to commit hostilities upon the men of each opposite party. To this end we are assured, that many of them on both sides *exercise* before their glasses every morning; that they have already cashiered several of their followers as mutineers, who have contradicted them in some political conversations; and that the *Whig* ladies in particular design very soon to have a general review of their forces at a play bespoke by one of their leaders. This sett of ladies, indeed, as they daily do duty at court, are much more expert in the use of their airs and graces than their female antagonists, who are most of them bred in the country; so that the sisterhood of loyalists, in respect of the fair malecontents, are like an army of regular forces, compared with a raw undisciplined militia.

It is to this misfortune in their education that we may ascribe the rude and opprobrious language with which the disaffected part of the sex treat the present royal family. A little lively rustick, who hath been trained up in ignorance and prejudice, will prattle treason a whole winter's evening and string together a parcel of silly seditious stories, that are equally void of decency and truth. Nay, you sometimes meet with a zealous matron, who sets up for the pattern of a parish, uttering such invectives as are highly misbecoming her, both as a woman and a subject. In answer therefore to such dis-
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loyal Termagants, I shall repeat to them a speech of the honest and blunt duke *du Sully* to an assembly of *Papish* ladies, who were railing very bitterly against *Henry* the fourth, at his accession to the *French* throne; Ladies, said he, *you have a very good king, if you know when you are well. However set your hearts at rest, for he is not a man to be scolded or scratched out of his kingdom.*

But as I never care to speak of the fair sex, unless I have an occasion to praise them, I shall take my leave of these ungentle damsels; and only beg of them, not to make themselves less amiable than nature designed them, by being rebels to the best of their abilities, and endeavouring to bring their country into bloodshed and confusion. Let me therefore recommend to them the example of those beautiful associates, whom I mentioned in my eighth paper, as I have received the particulars of their behaviour from the person with whom I lodged their association.

This association being written at length in a large roll of the finest vellum, with three distinct columns for the maids, wives, and widows, was opened for the subscribers near a fortnight ago. Never was a subscription for a *raffle* or an *opera* more crouded. There is scarce a celebrated beauty about town that you may not find in one of the three lists; insomuch that if a man who did not know the design, should read only the names of the subscribers, he would fancy every column to be a catalogue of toasts. Mr. *Motteux* has been heard to say more than once, that if he had the portraits of all the associates, they would make a finer auction of pictures, than he or any body else had ever exhibited.

Several of these ladies indeed criticised upon the form of the association. One of them, after the perusal of it wondered that among the features to be used in defence of their country, there was no mention made of *teeth*; upon which she smiled very charmingly, and discovered as fine a set as ever eye beheld. Another, who was a tall lovely prude, holding up her head in a most majestic manner, said, with some disdain, she thought a *good neck* might have done his majesty as much

much service as smiles or dimples. A third looked upon the association as defective, because so necessary a word as *hands* was omitted; and by her manner of taking up the pen, it was easy to guess the reason of her objection.

Most of the persons who associated, have done much more than by the letter of the association they were obliged to; having not only set their names to it, but subscribed their several aids and subsidies for the carrying on so good a cause. In the virgin column is one who subscribes fifteen lovers, all of them good men and true. There is another who subscribes five admirers, with one tall handsome black man fit to be a colonel. In short, there is scarce one in this list who does not engage herself to supply a quota of brisk young fellows, many of them already equipt with hats and feathers. Among the rest, was a pretty sprightly coquette, with sparkling eyes, who subscribed two quivers of arrows.

In the column of wives, the first who took pen in hand writ her own name and one vassal, meaning her husband. Another subscribes her husband and three sons. Another her husband and six coach-horses. Most in this catalogue paired themselves with their respective mates, answering for them as men of honest principles, and fit for the service.

N. B. There were two in this column that wore association ribbons: the first of them subscribed her husband, and her husband's friend; the second a husband and five lovers; but upon enquiry into their characters, they are both of them found to be *Tories*, who hung out false colours to be spies upon the association, or to insinuate to the world by their subscriptions, as if a lady of *Whig* principles could love any man besides her husband.

The widows column is headed by a fine woman who calls herself *Boadicea*, and subscribes six hundred tenants. It was indeed observed that the strength of the association lay most in this column; every widow, in proportion to her jointure, having a great number of admirers, and most of them distinguished as able men.

Those who have examined this list, compute that there may be three regiments raised out of it, in which there shall not be one man under six foot high.

I must not conclude this account, without taking notice of the ASSOCIATION-RIBBON, by which these beautiful confederates have agreed to distinguish themselves. It is indeed so very pretty an ornament, that I wonder any *English* woman will be without it. *A lady of the ASSOCIATION*, who bears this badge of allegiance upon her breast, naturally produces a desire in every male-beholder of gaining a place in a heart which carries on it such a visible mark of its fidelity. When the beauties of our island are thus industrious to shew their principles, as well as their charms, they raise the sentiments of their countrymen, and inspire them at the same time both with loyalty and love. What numbers of profelytes may we not expect, when the most amiable of the *Britons* thus exhibit to their admirers the only terms upon which they are to hope for any correspondence or alliance with them ! It is well known that the greatest blow the *French* nation ever received, was the dropping of a fine lady's garter, in the reign of king *Edward* the third. The most remarkable battles which have been since gained over that nation, were fought under the auspices of a blue RIBBON. As our *British* ladies have still the same faces, and our men the same hearts, why may we not hope for the same glorious achievements from the influence of this beautiful breast-knot ?



Monday,



N^o 12. Monday, January 30.

Quapropter, de summa salute vestra, P. C. de vestris conjugibus ac liberis, de aris ac focis, de sanis ac templis, de totius urbis tectis ac sedibus, de imperio, de libertate, de salute patriae, deque universa republica decernite diligenter, ut instituisitis, ac sortiter.

CIC.

THIS day having been set apart by publick authority to raise in us an abhorrence of the *GREAT REBELLION*, which involved the nation in so many calamities, and ended in the murder of their sovereign, it may not be unseasonable to shew the guilt of rebellion in general, and of that rebellion in particular which is stirred up against his present majesty.

That rebellion is one of the most hainous crimes which it is in the power of man to commit, may appear from several considerations. *First*, As it destroys the end of all government, and the benefits of civil society. Government was instituted for maintaining the peace, safety, and happiness of a people. These great ends are brought about by a general conformity and submission to that frame of laws which is established in every community, for the protection of the innocent, and the punishment of the guilty. As on the one side, men are secured in the quiet possession of their lives, properties, and every thing they have a right to: so on the other side, those who offer them any injury in these particulars, are subject to penalties proportioned to their respective offences. Government therefore mitigates the inequality of power among particular persons, and makes an innocent man, though of the lowest rank, a match for the mightiest

of his fellow-subjects ; since he has the force of the whole community on his side, which is able to controul the insolence or injustice of any private oppressor. Now rebellion disappoints all these ends and benefits of government, by raising a power in opposition to that authority which has been established among a people for their mutual welfare and defence. So that rebellion is as great an evil to society, as government itself is a blessing.

In the next place, rebellion is a violation of all those engagements, which every government exacts from such persons as live under it ; and consequently, the most base and pernicious instance of treachery and perfidiousness. The guilt of rebellion increases in proportion as these engagements are more solemn and obligatory. Thus, if a man makes his way to rebellion through perjury, he gives additional horrors to that crime, which is in itself of the blackest nature.

We may likewise consider rebellion as a greater complication of wickedness than any other crime we can commit. It is big with rapine, sacrilege, and murder. It is dreadful in its mildest effects, as it impoverishes the publick ; ruins particular families ; begets and perpetuates hatreds among fellow-subjects, friends, and relations ; makes a country the seat of war and desolation, and exposes it to the attempts of its foreign enemies. In short, as it is impossible for it to take effect, or to make the smallest progress, but through a continued course of violence and bloodshed ; a robber or a murderer looks like an innocent man, when we compare him with a rebel.

I shall only add, that as in the subordinations of a government the king is offended by any insults or oppositions to an inferior magistrate, so the sovereign ruler of the universe is affronted by a breach of allegiance to those whom he has set over us ; providence having delegated to the supreme magistrate in every country the same power for the good of men, which that supreme magistrate transfers to those several officers and substitutes who act under him, for the preserving of order and justice.

Now

Now if we take a view of the present rebellion which is formed against his majesty, we shall find in it all the guilt that is naturally inherent in this crime, without any single circumstance to alleviate it. Insurrections among a people to rescue themselves from the most violent and illegal oppressions ; to throw off a tyranny that makes property precarious, and life painful ; to preserve their laws and their religion to themselves and their posterity ; are excused from the necessity of such an undertaking, when no other means are left for the security of every thing that is dear and valuable to reasonable creatures. By the frame of our constitution, the duties of protection and allegiance are reciprocal ; and as the safety of a community is the ultimate end and design of government, when this, instead of being preserved, is manifestly destroyed, civil societies are excusable before God and man, if they endeavour to recover themselves out of so miserable a condition. For, in such a case, government becomes an evil instead of a blessing, and is not at all preferable to a state of anarchy and mutual independence. For these reasons, we have scarce ever yet heard of an insurrection that was not either coloured with grievances of the highest kind, or countenanced by one or more branches of the legislature. But the present rebellion is formed against a king, whose right has been established by frequent parliaments of all parties, and recognized by the most solemn oaths ; who has not been charged with one illegal proceeding ; who acts in perfect concert with the lords and commons of the realm ; who is famed for his equity and goodness, and has already very much advanced the reputation and interest of our country. The guilt therefore of this rebellion has in it all the most aggravating circumstances ; which will still appear more plainly, if we consider in the first place the real motives to it.

The rebellion, which was one of the most flagitious in itself, and described with the most horror, by historians, is that of *Cataline*, and his associates. Their motives to it are displayed at large by the *Roman* writers, in order to inspire the reader with the utmost detestation

testation of it. *Cataline*, the chief of the rebellion, had been disappointed in his competition for one of the first offices in the government, and had involved himself in such private debts and difficulties, as nothing could extricate him out of, but the ruin of an administration that would not intrust him with posts of honour or profit. His principal accomplices were men of the same character, and animated by the same incentives. They complained that power was lodged in the hands of the worst, to the oppression of the best; and that places were conferred on unworthy men, to the exclusion of themselves and their friends. Many of them were afraid of publick justice for past crimes, and some of them stood actually condemned as traitors to their country. These were joined by men of desperate fortunes, who hoped to find their account in the confusions of their country, were applauded by the meanest of the rabble, who always delighted in change, and privately abetted by persons of a considerable figure, who aimed at those honours and preferments which were in the possession of their rivals. These are the motives with which *Cataline's* rebellion is branded in history, and which are expressly mentioned by *Sallust*. I shall leave it to every unprejudiced reader to compare them with the motives which have kindled the present rebellion in his majesty's dominions.

As this rebellion is of the most criminal nature from its motives, so it is likewise if we consider its consequences. Should it succeed, (a supposition which, God be thanked, is very extravagant) what must be the natural effects of it upon our religion! What could we expect from an army, blest by the Pope, headed by a zealous *Roman-Catholick*, encouraged by the most bigotted princes of the church of *Rome*, supported by contributions not only from these several potentates, but from the wealthiest of their convents, and officered by *Irish* Papists and out-laws! Can we imagine that the *Roman-Catholicks* of our own nation would so heartily embark in an enterprize, to the visible hazard of their lives and fortunes, did they only hope to enjoy their religion under those laws which are now in force? In

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short, the danger to the Protestant cause is so manifest, that it would be an affront to the understanding of the reader to endeavour farther to prove it.

Arbitrary power is so interwoven with Popery, and so necessary to introduce it, so agreeable to the education of the pretender, so conformable to the principles of his adherents, and so natural to the insolence of conquerors, that should our invader gain the sovereign power by violence, there is no doubt but he would preserve it by tyranny. I shall leave to the reader's own consideration the change of property in general, and the utter extinction of it in our national funds, the inundation of nobles without estates, prelates without bishopricks, officers civil and military without places; and in short, the several occasions of rapine and revenge, which would necessarily ensue upon such a fatal revolution. But by the blessing of providence, and the wisdom of his majesty's administration, this melancholy prospect is as distant as it is dreadful.

These are the consequences which would necessarily attend the success of the present rebellion. But we will now suppose that the event of it should for some time remain doubtful. In this case we are to expect all the miseries of a civil war: nay, the armies of the greatest foreign princes would be subsisted, and all the battles of *Europe* fought in *England*. The rebels have already shewn us, that they want no inclination to promote their cause by fire and sword, where they have an opportunity of practising their barbarities. Should such a fierce and rapacious host of men, as that which is now in the Highlands fall down into our country that is so well peopled, adorned and cultivated, how would their march be distinguished by ravage and devastation! Might not we say of them in the sublime and beautiful words of the prophet, describing the progress of an enraged army from the North; *Before them is as the garden of Eden, and behind them as the desolate wilderness; yea, and nothing shall escape them.*

What then can we think of a party, who would plunge their native country into such evils as these; when the only avowed motive for their proceedings is a point of theory,

theory, that has been already determined by those who are proper judges, and in whose determinations we have so many years acquiesced. If the calamities of the nation in general can make no impression on them, let them at least, in pity to themselves, their friends and dependents, forbear all open and secret methods of encouraging a rebellion; so destructive, and so unprovoked. All human probabilities are against them; and they cannot expect success, but from a miraculous interposition of the Almighty. And this we may with all Christian humility hope, will not turn against us, who observe those oaths which we have made in his presence; who are zealous for the safety of that religion, which we think most acceptable in his sight; and who endeavour to preserve that constitution which is most conducive to the happiness of our country.

N^o 13.

Friday, February 3.

Ignavum fucos pecus a praesepibus arcent. VIRG.

THE most common, and indeed the most natural division of all offences, is into those of omission, and those of commission. We may make the same division of that particular set of crimes which regard human society. The greatest crime which can be committed against it is rebellion, as was shewn in my last paper. The greatest crime of omission, is an indifference in the particular members of a society, when a rebellion is actually begun among them. In such a juncture though a man may be innocent of the great breach which is made upon government, he is highly culpable, if he does not use all the means that are suitable to his station for reducing the community into its former state of peace and good order.

Our

Our obligation to be active on such an occasion appears from the very nature of civil government; which is an institution, whereby we are all confederated together for our mutual defence and security. Men who profess a state of neutrality in times of publick danger, desert the common interest of their fellow-subjects; and act with independence to that constitution into which they are incorporated. The safety of the whole requires our joint endeavours. When this is at stake, the indifferent are not properly a part of the community; or rather are like dead limbs, which are an incumbrance to the body, instead of being of use to it. Besides that, the protection which all receive from the same government, justly calls upon the gratitude of all to strengthen it, as well as upon their self-interest to preserve it.

But farther; if men, who in their hearts are friends to a government, forbear giving it their utmost assistance against its enemies, they put it in the power of a few desperate men to ruin the welfare of those who are much superior to them in strength, number, and interest. It was a remarkable law of *Solon*, the great legislator of the *Athenians*, that any person who in the civil tumults and commotions of the republick remained neuter or an indifferent spectator of the contending parties, should, after the re-establishment of the publick peace, forfeit all his possessions, and be condemned to perpetual banishment. This law made it necessary for every citizen to take his party, because it was highly probable the majority would be so wise as to espouse that cause which was most agreeable to the publick weal, and by that means hinder a sedition from making a successful progress. At least every prudent and honest man who might otherwise favour any indolence in his own temper, was hereby engaged to be active, such a one would be sure to join himself to that side which had the good of their country most at heart. For this reason their famous law-giver condemned the persons who sat idle in divisions so dangerous to the government, as aliens to the community, and therefore to be cut off from it as unprofitable members.

Farther;

Farther ; indifference cannot but be criminal, when it is conversant about objects which are so far from being of an indifferent nature, that they are of the highest importance to ourselves and our country. If it be indifferent to us whether we are free subjects or slaves ; whether our prince be of our own religion, or of one that obliges him to extirpate it ; we are in the right to give ourselves no trouble in the present juncture. A man governs himself by the dictates of virtue and good sense, who acts without zeal or passion in points that are of no consequence : but when the whole community is shaken, and the safety of the publick endangered, the appearance of a philosophical or an affected indolence must arise either from stupidity, or perfidiousness.

When in the division of parties among us, men only strove for the first place in the prince's favour : when all were attached to the same form of government, and contended only for the highest offices in it ; a prudent and an honest man might look upon the struggle with indifference, and be in no great pain for the success of either side. But at present the contest is not in reality between *Whigs* and *Tories*, but between *Loyalists* and *Rebels*. Our country is not now divided into two parties, who propose the same end by different means ; but into such as would preserve, and such as would destroy it. Whatever denominations we might range ourselves under in former times, men who have any natural love to their country, or sense of their duty, should exert their united strength in a cause that is common to all parties, as they are *Protestants* and *Britons*. In such a case, an avowed indifference is treachery to our fellow-subjects ; and a lukewarm allegiance may prove as pernicious in its consequences as treason.

I need not repeat here what I have proved at large in a former paper, that we are obliged to an active obedience by the solemn oaths we have taken to his majesty ; and that the neutral kind of indifference, which is the subject of this paper, falls short of that obligation they lie under, who have taken such oaths ; as will easily appear

appear to any one who considers the form of those sacred and religious engagements.

How then can any man answer it to himself, if, for the sake of managing his interest or character among a party, or out of any personal pique to those who are the most conspicuous for their zeal in his majesty's service, or from any other private and self-interested motive, he stands as a looker-on when the government is attacked by an open rebellion; especially when those engaged in it, cannot have the least prospect of success, but by the assistance of the ancient and hereditary enemies to the *British* nation. It is strange that these lukewarm friends to the government, whose zeal for their sovereign rises and falls with their credit at court, do not consider, before it be too late, that as they strengthen the rebels by their present indifference, they at the same time establish the interest of those who are their rivals and competitors for publick posts of honour. When there is an end put to this rebellion, these gentlemen cannot pretend to have had any merit in so good a work and they may well believe the nation will never care to see those men in the highest offices of trust, who when they are out of them, will not stir a finger in its defence.



Monday,



N^o 14. Monday, February 6.

*Periculosum est credere, et non credere ;
Utriusque exemplum breviter exponam rei.
Hippolitus obiit, quia novercae creditum est :
Cassandrae quia non creditum, ruit Ilium.
Ergo exploranda est veritas, multum prius,
Quam stulta prave judicet sententia.*

PHAED.

HAVING in the seventh paper considered many of those falsehoods by which the cause of our malecontents is supported ; I shall here speak of that extravagant credulity, which disposes each particular member of their party to believe them. This strange alacrity in believing absurdity and inconsistency may be called the *Political Faith* of a Tory.

A person who is thoroughly endowed with this political faith, like a man in a dream, is entertained from one end of his life to the other with objects that have no reality or existence. He is daily nourished and kept in humour by fiction and delusion ; and may be compared to the old obstinate knight in *Rabelais*, that every morning swallowed a chimera for his breakfast.

This political faith of a malecontent is altogether founded on hope. He does not give credit to any thing because it is probable, but because it is pleasing. His wishes serve him instead of reasons, to confirm the truth of what he hears. There is no report so incredible or contradictory in itself which he doth not chearfully believe, if it tends to the advancement of the cause. In short, a malecontent who is a good believer has generally reason to repeat the celebrated rant of an ancient father, *Credo quia impossibile est* : which is as much as to say, *It must be true, because it is impossible.*

It has been very well observed, that the most credulous man in the world is the Atheist, who believes the universe

universe to be the production of chance. In the same manner, a *Tory*, who is the greatest believer in what is improbable, is the greatest infidel in what is certain. Let a friend to the government relate to him a matter of fact, he turns away his ear from him, and gives him the lye in every look. But if one of his own stamp should tell him that the king of *Sweden* would be suddenly at *Perth*, and that his army is now actually marching thither upon the ice; he hugs himself at the good news, and gets drunk upon it before he goes to bed. This sort of people puts one in mind of several towns of *Europe* that are inaccessible on the one side, while they lie open and unguarded on the other. The minds of our malecontents are indeed so depraved with those falsehoods which they are perpetually imbibing, that they have a natural relish for error, and have quite lost the taste of truth in political matters. I shall therefore dismiss this head with a saying of king *Charles* the second. This monarch, when he was at *Windsor*, used to amuse himself with the conversation of the famous *Vossius*, who was full of stories relating to the antiquity, learning, and manners of the *Chinese*; and at the same time a free-thinker in points of religion. The king upon hearing him repeat some incredible accounts of these Eastern people, turning to those who were about him, *This learned divine*, said he, *is a very strange man: he believes every thing but the Bible.*

Having thus far considered the political faith of the party as it regards matters of fact, let us in the next place take a view of it with respect to those doctrines which it embraces; and which are the fundamental points whereby they are distinguished from those, whom they used to represent as enemies to the constitution in church and state. How far their great articles of political faith, with respect to our ecclesiastical and civil government, are consistent with themselves, and agreeable to reason and truth, may be seen in the following paradoxes, which are the essentials of a *Tory's* creed, with relation to political matters. Under the name of *Tories*, I do not here comprehend multitudes of well-

designing men, who were formerly included under that denomination, but are now in the interest of his majesty and the present government. These have already seen the evil tendency of such principles, which are the *Credenda* of the party, as it is opposite to that of the *Whigs*.

ARTICLE I.

That the church of *England* will be always in danger, till it has a Popish king for its defender.

II.

That, for the safety of the church, no subject should be tolerated in any religion different from the established; but that the head of our church may be of that religion which is most repugnant to it.

III.

That the Protestant interest in this nation, and in all *Europe*, could not but flourish under the protection of one, who thinks himself obliged, on pain of damnation, to do all that lies in his power for the extirpation of it.

IV.

That we may safely rely upon the promises of one, whose religion allows him to make them, and at the same time obliges him to break them.

V.

That a good man should have a greater abhorrence of Presbyterianism, which is perverseness, than of Popery, which is but idolatry.

VI.

That a person who hopes to be king of *England* by the assistance of *France*, would naturally adhere to the *British* interest, which is always opposite to that of the *French*.

VII.

That a man has no opportunities of learning how to govern the people of *England* in any foreign country, so well as in *France*.

VIII.

That ten millions of people should rather choose to fall into slavery, than not acknowledge their prince to be

be invested with an hereditary and indefeasible right of oppression.

IX.

That we are obliged in conscience to become subjects of a duke of *Savoy*, or of a *French* king, rather than enjoy for our sovereign a prince, who is the first of the royal blood in the Protestant line.

X.

That non-resistance is the duty of every Christian, whilst he is in a good place.

XI.

That we ought to profess the doctrine of passive-obedience till such time as nature rebels against principle, that is, till we are put to the necessity of practising it.

XII.

That the Papists have taken up arms to defend the church of *England* with the utmost hazard of their lives and fortunes.

XIII.

That there is an unwarrantable faction in this island, consisting of king, lords, and commons.

XIV.

That the legislature, when there is a majority of *Whigs* in it, has not power to make laws.

XV.

That an act of parliament to empower the king to secure suspected persons in times of rebellion, is the means to establish the sovereign on the throne, and consequently a great infringement of the liberties of the subject.





N^o 15. Friday, February 10.

——— *Auxilium, quoniam sic cogitis ipsi,
Dixit, ab hoste petam : vultus avertite vestros,
Si quis amicus adest : et Gargonis extulit ora.* OVID.

IT is with great pleasure that I see a race of female-patriots springing up in this island. The fairest among the daughters of *Great Britain* no longer confine their cares to a domestick life, but are grown anxious for the welfare of their country, and shew themselves good stateswomen as well as good housewives.

Our she-confederates keep pace with us in quashing that rebellion which had begun to spread itself among part of the fair sex. If the men who are true to their king and country, have taken *Preston* and *Perth*, the ladies have possessed themselves of the opera and the play-house with as little opposition or bloodshed. The non-resisting women, like their brothers in the *Highlands*, think no post tenable against an army that makes so fine an appearance ; and dare not look them in the face, when they are drawn up in battle-array.

As an instance of the chearfulness in our fair fellow-subjects, to oppose the designs of the pretender, I did but suggest in one of my former papers, *That the fan might be made use of with good success against Popery, by exhibiting the corruptions of the church of Rome in various figures* ; when immediately they took the hint, and have since had frequent consultations upon several ways and methods to make the fan useful. They have unanimously agreed upon the following resolutions, which are indeed very suitable to ladies who are at the same time the most beautiful and the most loyal of their sex. To hide their faces behind the fan, when they observe a *Tory* gazing upon them. Never to peep through

through it, but in order to pick out men, whose principles make them worth the conquest. To return no other answer to a *Tory's* addresses, than by counting the sticks of it all the while he is talking to them. To avoid dropping it in the neighbourhood of a malecontent, that he may not have an opportunity of taking it up. To shew their disbelief of any *Jacobite* story by a flirt of it. To fall a fanning themselves, when a *Tory* comes into one of their assemblies, as being disordered at the sight of him.

These are the uses by which every fan may in the hands of a fine woman become serviceable to the publick. But they have at present under consideration, certain fans of a Protestant make, that they may have a more extensive influence, and raise an abhorrence of Popery in a whole croud of beholders: for they intend to let the world see what party they are of, by figures and designs upon these fans; as the knight's errant used to distinguish themselves by devices on their shields.

There are several sketches of pictures which have been already presented to the ladies for their approbation, and out of which several have made their choice. A pretty young lady will very soon appear with a fan, which has on it a nunnery of lively black-ey'd vestals, who are endeavouring to creep out at the grates. Another has a fan mounted with a fine paper, on which is represented a groupe of people upon their knees very devoutly worshipping an old ten-penny nail. A certain lady of great learning has chosen for her device the council of *Trent*; and another, who has a good satirical turn has filled her fan with the figure of a huge taudry woman, representing the whore of *Babylon*; which she is resolved to spread full in the face of any sister-disputant, whose arguments have a tendency to Popery. The following designs are already executed on several mountings. The ceremony of the holy pontiff opening the mouth of a cardinal in a full consistory. An old gentleman with a triple crown upon his head, and big with child, being the portrait of pope *Joan*. Bishop *Bonner* purchasing great quantities of faggots and brush-wood, for the conversion of Hereticks. A

figure reaching at a sceptre with one hand, and holding a chaplet of beads in the other : with a distant view of *Smithfield*.

When our ladies make their zeal thus visible upon their fans, and, every time they open them, display an error of the church of *Rome*, it cannot but have a good effect, by shewing the enemies of our present establishment the folly of what they are contending for. At least, every one must allow that fans are much more innocent engines for propagating the Protestant religion, than racks, wheels, gibbets, and the like machines, which are made use of for the advancement of the Roman Catholick. Besides, as every lady will of course study her fan, she will be a perfect mistress of the controversy at least in one point of Popery, and as her curiosity will put her upon the perusal of every other fan that is fashionable, I doubt not but in a very little time there will scarce be a woman of quality in *Great Britain*, who would not be an over-match for an *Irish* priest.

The beautiful part of this island, whom I am proud to number amongst the most candid of my readers, will likewise do well to reflect, that our dispute at present concerns our civil as well as religious rights. I shall therefore only offer it to their thoughts as a point that highly deserves their consideration, Whether the fan may not also be made use of with regard to our political constitution. As a free-holder, I would not have them confine their cares for us as we are Protestants, but at the same time have an eye to our happiness as we are *Britons*. In this case they would give a new turn to the minds of their countrymen, if they would exhibit on their fans the several grievances of a tyrannical government. Why might not an audience of *Muley Ishmael*, or a *Turk* dropping his handkerchief in his Seraglio, be proper subjects to express their abhorrence both of despotick power, and of male tyranny? Or, if they have a fancy for burlesque, what would they think of a *French* cobbler cutting shoes for several of his fellow-subjects out of an old apple-tree? On the contrary, a fine woman who would maintain the dignity of her sex, might

might bear a string of galley-slaves, dragging their chains the whole breadth of her fan, and at the same time, to celebrate her own triumphs, might order every slave to be drawn with the face of one of her admirers.

I only propose these as hints to my gentle readers, which they may alter or improve as they shall think fit: but cannot conclude without congratulating our country upon this disposition among the most amiable of its inhabitants, to consider in their ornaments the advantage of the publick as well as of their persons. It was with the same spirit, though not with the same politeness, that the ancient *British* women had the figures of monsters painted on their naked bodies, in order (as our historians tell us) to make themselves beautiful in the eyes of their countrymen, and terrible to their enemies. If this project goes on, we may boast, that our sister *Whigs* have the finest fans, as well as the most beautiful faces, of any ladies in the world. At least, we may venture to foretell, that the figures in their fans will lessen the *Tory* interest, much more than those in the *Oxford* almanacks will advance it.



N^o 16. Monday, February 13.

Itaque quod plerumque in atroci negotio solet, senatus decrevit, darent operam consules ne quid respublica detrimenti caperet. Ea potestas per senatum more Romano magistratui maxuma permittitur, exercitum parare, bellum gerere, coercere omnibus modis socios atque cives, domi militiaeque imperium atque judicium summum habere. Aliter, sine populi jussu nulli earum rerum consuli jus est. SALL.

IT being the design of these papers to reconcile men to their own happiness by removing those wrong notions and prejudices which hinder them from seeing the advantage of themselves and their posterity

sterity in the present establishment, I cannot but take notice of every thing that by the artifice of our enemies is made a matter of complaint.

Of this nature is the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* act, by which his majesty has been enabled in these times of danger, to seize and detain the persons of such who, he had reason to believe, were conspiring against his person and government. The expediency and reasonableness of such a temporary suspension in the present juncture, may appear to every considerate man, who will turn his thoughts impartially on this subject.

I have chosen in points of this nature to draw my arguments from the first principles of government. which as they are of no party, but assented to by every reasonable man, carry the greater weight with them, and are accommodated to the notions of all my readers. Every one knows, who has considered the nature of government, that there must be in each particular form of it an absolute and unlimited power; and that this power is lodged in the hands of those, who have the making of its laws, whether by the nature of the constitution it be in one or more persons, in a single order of men, or in a mixt body of different ranks and degrees. It is an absurdity to imagine that those who have the authority of making laws, cannot suspend any particular law, when they think it expedient for the publick. Without such a power all government would be defective, and not armed with a sufficient force for its own security. As self-preservation by all honest methods is the first duty of every community, as well as of every private person, so the publick safety is the general view of all laws. When therefore any law does not conduce to this great end, but on the contrary in some extraordinary and unnatural junctures, the very observation of it would endanger the community, that law ought to be laid asleep for such a time, by the proper authority. Thus the very intention of our *Habeas Corpus* act; namely, the preservation of the liberties of the subject, absolutely requires that act to be now suspended, since the confinement of dangerous and suspected persons, who might strengthen

strengthen this rebellion, and spread a civil war through all parts of this kingdom, secures to us our civil rights; and every thing that can be valuable to a free people.

As every government must in its nature be armed with such an authority, we may observe that those governments which have been the most famous for publick spirit, and the most jealous of their liberty, have never failed to exert it upon proper occasions. There cannot be a greater instance of this, than in the old commonwealth of *Rome*, who flattered themselves with an opinion, that their government had in it a due temper of the regal, noble, and popular power, represented by the consuls, the senators, and the tribunes. The regal part was however in several points notoriously defective, and particularly because the consuls had not a negative in the passing of a law, as the other two branches had. Nevertheless in this government when the republick was threatened with any great and imminent danger, they thought it for the common safety to appoint a temporary dictator, invested with the whole power of the three branches; who, when the danger was over, retired again into the community, and left the government in its natural situation. But what is more to our case, the consular power itself, though infinitely short of the regal power in *Great Britain*, was intrusted with the whole authority which the legislature has put into the hands of his majesty. We have an eminent instance of this in the motto of my paper, which I shall translate for the benefit of the *English* reader, after having advertised him, that the power there given to the consul, was in the time of a conspiracy. *The senate therefore made a decree as usual, when they have matters before them of so horrid a nature, That the consuls should take care the commonwealth did not suffer any prejudice. By virtue of this very great power which the senate allows to the magistrate, according to the ancient customs of Rome, he may raise an army, wage war, make use of all kinds of methods to restrain the associates and citizens of Rome, and exercise the supreme authority both at home and abroad in matters civil and military; whereas otherwise the consul is*
not

not invested with any of these powers without the express command of the people.

There now only remains to shew, that his majesty is legally possess of this power; and that the necessity of the present affairs requires he should be so. He is intrusted with it by the legislature of the nation; and in the very notion of a legislature is implied a power to change, repeal, and suspend what laws are in being, as well as to make what new laws they shall think fit for the good of the people. This is so uncontroverted a maxim, that I believe never any body attempted to refute it. Our legislature have however had that just regard for their fellow-subjects, as not to entertain a thought of abrogating this law, but only to hinder it from operating at a time when it would endanger the constitution. The king is empowered to act but for a few months by virtue of this suspension; and by that means differs from a king of *France*, or any other tyrannical prince, who in times of peace and tranquillity, and upon what occasion he pleases, sends any of his subjects out of the knowledge of their friends into such castles, dungeons, or imprisonments as he thinks fit. Nor did the legislature do any thing in this that was unprecedented. The *Habeas Corpus* act was made but about five and thirty years ago, and since that time has been suspended four times before his present majesty's accession to the throne: twice under the reign of king *William* and queen *Mary*; once under the reign of king *William*; and once under the reign of queen *Anne*.

The necessity of this law at this time arose from the prospect of an invasion, which has since broke out into an actual rebellion; and from informations of secret and dangerous practices among men of considerable figure, who could not have been prevented from doing mischief to their country but by such a suspension of this act of parliament.

I cannot however but observe, that notwithstanding the lawfulness and necessity of such a suspension, had not the rebellion broke out after the passing of this act of parliament, I do not know how those who had been the

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the most instrumental in procuring it, could have escaped that popular odium, which their malicious and artful enemies have now in vain endeavoured to stir up against them. Had it been possible for the vigilance and endeavours of a ministry to have hindered even the attempt of an invasion, their very endeavours might have proved prejudicial to them. Their prudent and resolute precautions would have turned to their disadvantage, had they not been justified by those events, which they did all that was in their power to obviate. This naturally brings to mind the reflection of *Tully* in the like circumstances, *That, amidst the divisions of Rome a man was in an unhappy condition who had a share in the administration, nay even in the preservation of the commonwealth.* O conditionem miseram non modo administrandae, verum etiam conservandae reipublicae!

Besides, every unprejudiced man will consider how mildly and equitably this power has been used. The persons confined have been treated with all possible humanity, and abridged of nothing but the liberty of hurting their country, and very probably of ruining both themselves and their families. And as to the numbers of those who are under this short restraint, it is very observable, that people do not seem so much surprized at the confinement of some, as at the liberty of many others. But we may from hence conclude, what every *Englishman* must observe with great pleasure, that his majesty does not in this great point regulate himself by any private jealousies or suspicions, but by those evidences and informations which he has received.

We have already found the good consequences of this suspension, in that it has hindered the rebellion from gathering the strength it would otherwise have gained; not to mention those numbers it has kept from engaging in so desperate an enterprize, with the many lives it has preserved, and the desolations it has prevented.

For these and many other reasons the representatives of *Great Britain*, in parliament, could never have answered it to the people they represented, who have found such great benefits from the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* act, and without it must have felt such fatal

tal consequences, had they not in a case of such great necessity made use of this customary, legal, and reasonable method for securing his majesty on the throne, and their country from misery or ruin.

N^O 17.

Friday, February 17.

— *Hic niger est: hunc tu, Romane, caveto.* HOR.

WE are told, that in *Turkey*, when any man is the author of notorious falsehoods, it is usual to blacken the whole front of his house. Nay we have sometimes heard that an ambassador, whose *business it is* (if I may quote his character in Sir Henry Wootton's words) *to lye for the good of his country*, has sometimes had this mark set upon his house; when he has been detected in any piece of feigned intelligence, that has prejudiced the government, and misled the minds of the people. One could almost wish that the habitations of such of our own countrymen as deal in forgeries detrimental to the publick, were distinguished in the same manner; that their fellow-subjects might be cautioned not to be too easy in giving credit to them. Were such a method put in practice, this metropolis would be strangely chequer'd; some entire parishes would be in mourning, and several streets darkened from one end to the other.

But I have given my thoughts in two preceding papers, both on the inventors and the believers of these publick falsehoods and calumnies, and shall here speak of that contempt with which they are and ought to be received by those in high stations, at whom they are levelled. Any person indeed, who is zealous for promoting the interest of his country, must conquer all that tenderness and delicacy which may make him afraid of being spoken ill of; or his endeavours will often

ten produce no less uneasiness to himself, than benefit to the publick. Among a people who indulge themselves in the utmost freedoms of thought and speech, a man must either be insignificant, or able to bear an undeserved reproach. A true patriot may comfort himself under the attacks of falsehood and obloquy, from several motives and reflections.

In the first place he should consider, that the chief of his antagonists are generally acted by a spirit of envy; which would not rise against him, if it were not provoked by his desert. A statesman, who is possess of real merit, should look upon his political censurers with the same neglect, that a good writer regards his critics; who are generally a race of men that are not able to discover the beauties of a work they examine, and deny that approbation to others, which they never met with themselves. Patriots therefore should rather rejoice in the success of their honest designs, than be mortified by those who misrepresent them.

They should likewise consider that not only envy, but vanity has a share in the detraction of their adversaries. Such aspersions therefore do them honour at the same time that they are intended to lessen their reputation. They should reflect, that those who endeavour to stir up the multitude against them, do it to be thought considerable; and not a little applaud themselves in a talent that can raise clamours out of nothing, and throw a ferment among the people, by murmurs or complaints, which they know in their own hearts are altogether groundless. There is a pleasant instance of this nature recorded at length in the first book of the annals of *Tacitus*. When a great part of the *Roman* legions were in a disposition to mutiny, an impudent varlet, who was a private centinel, being mounted upon the shoulders of his fellow-soldiers, and resolved to try the power of his eloquence, addressed himself to the army in all the postures of an orator, after the following manner; *You have given liberty to these miserable men; said he (pointing to some criminals whom they had rescued) but which of you can restore life to my brother? Who can give me back my brother? He was*
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murdered no longer ago than last night, by the hands of those ruffians, who are entertained by the general to butcher the poor soldiery. Tell me, Blaesus, (for that was the name of the general, who was then sitting on the tribunal) tell me, Where hast thou cast his dead body? An enemy does not grudge the rites of burial. When I have tired myself with kissing his cold corps, and weeping over it, order me to be slain upon it. All I ask of my fellow-soldiers, since we both die in their cause, is that they would lay me in the same grave with my brother. The whole army was in an uproar at this moving speech, and resolved to do the speaker justice, when upon enquiry, they found that he never had a brother in his life; and that he had stirred up the sedition only to shew his parts.

Publick ministers would likewise do well to consider, that the principal authors of such reproaches as are cast upon them, are those who have a mind to get their places: and as for a censure arising from this motive, it is in their power to escape it when they please, and turn it upon their competitors. Malecontents of an inferior character are acted by the same principle; for so long as there are employments of all sizes, there will be murmurers of all degrees. I have heard of a country gentleman, who made a very long and melancholy complaint to the late duke of *Buckingham*, when he was in great power at court, of several publick grievances. The duke, after having given him a very patient hearing, *My dear friend*, says he, *this is but too true; but I have thought of an expedient which will set all things right, and that very soon.* His country friend asked him, what it was? *You must know*, says the duke, *there's a place of five hundred pounds a year fallen this very morning, which I intend to put you in possession of.* The gentleman thanked his grace, went away satisfied, and thought the nation the happiest under heaven, during that whole ministry.

But farther, every man in a publick station ought to consider, that when there are two different parties in a nation, they will see things in different lights. An action however conducive to the good of their country, will

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will be represented by the artful, and appear to the ignorant as prejudicial to it. Since I have here, according to the usual liberty of essay-writers, rambled into several stories, I shall fetch one to my present purpose out of the *Persian* history. We there read of a virtuous young emperor, who was very much afflicted to find his actions misconstrued and defamed by a party among his subjects that favoured another interest. As he was one day sitting among the ministers of his *Divan*, and amusing himself after the *Eastern* manner, with the solution of difficult problems and aenigmas, he proposed to them in his turn, the following one. *What is the tree that bears three hundred and sixty-five leaves, which are all black on the one side, and white on the other?* His grand Vizier immediately replied, it was the year which consisted of three hundred and sixty-five days and nights: *But, Sir,* says he, *permit me at the same time to take notice, that these leaves represent your actions, which carry different faces to your friends and enemies, and will always appear black to those who are resolved only to look upon the wrong side of them.*

A virtuous man therefore who lays out his endeavours for the good of his country, should never be troubled at the reports which are made of him, so long as he is conscious of his own integrity. He should rather be pleased to find people descanting upon his actions, because when they are thoroughly canvassed and examined, they are sure in the end to turn to his honour and advantage. The reasonable and unprejudiced part of mankind will be of his side, and rejoice to see their common interest lodged in such honest hands. A strict examination of a great man's character, is like the trial of a suspected chastity, which was made among the *Jews* by the waters of jealousy. *Moses* assures us that the criminal burst upon the drinking of them; but if she was accused wrongfully, the *Rabbins* tell us, they heightened her charms, and made her much more amiable than before: so that they destroyed the guilty, but beautified the innocent.



N^o 18. Monday, February 20.

— *Inopem me copia fecit.*

OVID.

EVERY *Englishman* will be a good subject to king *George*, in proportion as he is a good *Englishman*, and a lover of the constitution of his country. In order to awaken in my readers the love of this their constitution, it may be necessary to set forth its superior excellency to that form of government, which many wicked and ignorant men have of late years endeavoured to introduce among us. I shall not therefore think it improper to take notice from time to time of any particular act of power, exerted by those among whom the pretender to his majesty's crown has been educated; which would prove fatal to this nation, should it be conquered and governed by a person, who, in all probability, would put in practice the politicks in which he has been so long instructed.

There has been nothing more observable in the reign of his present *Gallick* majesty, than the method he has taken for supplying his exchequer with a necessary sum of money. The ways and means for raising it has been an edict, or a command in writing signed by himself, to increase the value of *Louis d'Ors* from fourteen to sixteen *Livres*, by virtue of a new stamp which shall be struck upon them. As this method will bring all the gold of the kingdom into his hands, it is provided by the same edict that they shall be paid out again to the people at twenty *Livres* each; so that four *Livres* in the score by this means accrue to his majesty out of all the money in the kingdom of *France*.

This method of raising money is consistent with that form of government, and with the repeated practice of their late *Grand Monarque*; so that I shall not here consider

consider the many evil consequences which it must have upon their trade, their exchange, and publick credit. I shall only take notice of the whimsical circumstances a people must lie under, who can be thus made poor or rich by an edict, which can throw an alloy into a *Louis d'Or*, and debase it into half its former value, or if his majesty pleases, raise the price of it, not by the accession of metal, but of a mark. By the present edict many a man in *France* will swell into a plumb, who sell several thousand pounds short of it the day before its publication. This conveys a kind of *fairy* treasure into their chests, even whilst they are under lock and key; and is a secret of multiplication without addition. It is natural enough however for the vanity of the *French* nation to grow insolent upon this imaginary wealth, not considering that their neighbours think them no more rich by virtue of an edict to make fourteen twenty, than they would think them more formidable should there be another edict to make every man in the kingdom seven foot high.

It was usual for his late most Christian majesty to sink the value of their *Louis d'Ors* about the time he was to receive the taxes of his good people, and to raise them when he had got them safe into his coffers. And there is no question but the present government in that kingdom will so far observe this kind of conduct, as to reduce the twenty *Livres* to their old number of fourteen, when they have paid them out of their hands; which will immediately sink the present tyranny of wealth, and re-establish the natural poverty of the *Gallick* nation.

One cannot but pity the melancholy condition of a miser in this country, who is perpetually telling his *Livres*, without being able to know how rich he is. He is as ridiculously puzzled and perplexed as a man that counts the stones on *Salisbury-Plain*, which can never be settled to any certain number, but are more or fewer every time he reckons them.

I have heard of a young *French* lady, a subject of *Louis* the fourteen, who was contracted to a marquis upon the foot of a five thousand pound fortune, which

she had by her in specie; but one of these unlucky edicts coming out a week before the intended marriage, she lost a thousand pound, and her bridegroom into the bargain.

The uncertainty of riches is a subject much discouraged of in all countries, but may be insisted on more emphatically in *France* than any other. A man is here under such a kind of situation, as one who is managed by a juggler. He fancies he has so many pieces of money in his hand; but let him grasp them never so carefully, upon a word or two of the artist they increase or dwindle to what number the doctor is pleased to name.

The method of lowering or advancing money, we, who have the happiness to be in another form of government, should look upon as an unwarrantable kind of clipping and coining. However, as it is an expedient that is often practised, and may be justified in that constitution which has been so thoroughly studied by the pretender to his majesty's crown, I do not see what should have hindered him from making use of so expeditious a method for raising a supply, if he had succeeded in his late attempt to dethrone his majesty, and subvert our constitution. I shall leave it to the consideration of the reader, if in such a case the following edict, or something very like it, might not have been expected.

‘ **W**HEREAS these our kingdoms have long
 ‘ groaned under an expensive and consuming
 ‘ land-war, which has very much exhausted the treasure of the nation, we, being willing to increase the
 ‘ wealth of our people, and not thinking it advisable
 ‘ for this purpose to make use of the tedious methods
 ‘ of merchandize and commerce, which have been always
 ‘ promoted by a faction among the worst of our
 ‘ subjects, and were so wisely discountenanced by the
 ‘ best of them in the late reign, do hereby enact by
 ‘ our sole will and pleasure, that every shilling in *Great*
 ‘ *Britain* shall pass in all payments for the sum of
 ‘ fourteen pence, till the first of *September* next, and
 ‘ that

‘ that every other piece of money shall rise and pass
 ‘ in current payment in the same proportion. The
 ‘ advantage which will accrue to these nations by this
 ‘ our royal donative, will visibly appear to all men of
 ‘ sound principles, who are so justly famous for their
 ‘ antipathy to strangers, and would not see the landed
 ‘ interest of their country weakened by the importations
 ‘ of foreign gold and silver : but since by reason of the
 ‘ great debts which we have contracted abroad during
 ‘ our fifteen years reign, as well as of our present ex-
 ‘ gencies, it will be necessary to fill our exchequer by
 ‘ the most prudent and expeditious methods, we do also
 ‘ hereby order every one of our subjects to bring in
 ‘ these his fourteen-penny pieces, and all the other
 ‘ current cash of this kingdom, by what new titles
 ‘ soever dignified or distinguished, to the master of our
 ‘ mint, who, after having set a mark upon them, shall
 ‘ deliver out to them, on or after the first of *Septem-*
 ‘ *ber* aforesaid, their respective sums, taking only four
 ‘ pence for ourself for such his mark on every fourteen
 ‘ penny piece, which from thenceforth shall pass in
 ‘ payment for eighteen pence, and so in proportion for
 ‘ the rest. By this method, the money of this nation
 ‘ will be more by one third than it is at present ; and
 ‘ we shall content ourself with not quite one fifth part
 ‘ of the current cash of our loving subjects ; which
 ‘ will but barely suffice to clear the interest of all those
 ‘ sums in which we stand indebted to our most dear
 ‘ brother and ancient ally. We are glad of this oppor-
 ‘ tunity of shewing such an instance of our goodness
 ‘ to our subjects, by this our royal edict, which shall
 ‘ be read in every parish church of *Great Britain*,
 ‘ immediately after the celebration of high mass. *FOR*
 ‘ *SUCH IS OUR PLEASURE.*’

Friday,



Nº 19. Friday, February 24.

*Pulchrum est bene facere reipublicae ; etiam bene dicere
haud absurdum est.* SALL.

IT has been usual these many years for writers who have approved the scheme of government which has taken place, to explain to the people the reasonableness of those principles which have prevailed, and to justify the conduct of those who act in conformity to such principles. It therefore happens well for the party which is undermost, when a work of this nature falls into the hands of those who content themselves to attack their principles, without exposing their persons, or singling out any particular objects for satire and ridicule. This manner of proceeding is no inconsiderable piece of merit in writers, who are often more influenced by a desire of fame, than a regard to the public good ; and who by this means, lose many fair opportunities of shewing their own wit, or of gratifying the ill-nature of their readers.

When a man thinks a party engaged in such measures as tend to the ruin of his country, it is certainly a very laudable and virtuous action in him to make war after this manner upon the whole body. But as several Casuists are of opinion, that in a battle you should discharge upon the gross of the enemy, without levelling your piece at any particular person ; so in this kind of combat also, I cannot think it fair to aim at any one man, and make his character the mark of your hostilities. There is now to be seen in the castle of *Milan*, a cannon-bullet, inscribed, *This to the Marechal-de-Crequi*, which was the very ball that shot him. An author who points his satire at a great man, is to be looked upon in the same view with the engineer who signalized himself by this ungenerous practice.

But

But as the spirit of the *Whigs* and *Tories* shews itself, upon every occasion, to be very widely different from one another; so it is particularly visible in the writings of this kind, which have been published by each party. The latter may indeed assign one reason to justify themselves in this practice; that, having nothing of any manner of weight to offer against the principles of their antagonists, if they speak at all, it must be against their persons. When they cannot refute an adversary, the shortest way is to libel him; and to endeavour at the making his person odious, when they cannot represent his notions as absurd.

The *Examiner* was a paper in the last reign which was the favourite-work of the party. It was ushered into the world by a letter from a secretary of state, setting forth the great genius of the author, the usefulness of his design, and the mighty consequences that were to be expected from it. It is said to have been written by those among them whom they looked upon as their most celebrated wits and politicians, and was dispersed into all quarters of the nation with great industry and expence. Who would not have expected, that at least the rules of decency and candour would be observed in such a performance? But instead of this, you saw all the great men, who had done eminent services to their country but a few years before, draughted out one by one, and baited in their turns. No sanctity of character, or privilege of sex, exempted persons from this barbarous usage. Several of our Prelates were the standing marks of publick raillery, and many ladies of the first quality branded by name for matters of fact, which as they were false, were not heeded, and if they had been true were innocent. The dead themselves were not spared. And here I cannot forbear taking notice of a kind of wit, which has lately grown into fashion among the versifiers, epigrammatists, and other authors, who think it sufficient to distinguish themselves by their zeal for what they call the High-Church, while they sport with the most tremendous parts of revealed religion. Every one has seen epigrams upon the deceased fathers of our church, where the whole thought has turned upon
hell-

hell-fire. Patriots, who ought to be remembered with honour by their posterity, have been introduced as speakers in a state of torments. There is something dreadful even in repeating these execrable pieces of wit, which no man who really believes in another life can peruse without fear and trembling. It is astonishing to see readers who call themselves Christians, applauding such diabolical mirth, and seeming to rejoice in the doom which is pronounced against their enemies, by such abandoned scribblers. A wit of this kind, may with great truth be compared to the fool in the *Proverbs*, who plays with arrows, firebrands, and death, and says, *am I not in sport?*

I must, in justice to the more sober and considerate of that party, confess, that many of them were highly scandalized at that personal slander and reflection which was flung out so freely by the libellers of the last reign, as well as by those profane liberties which have been since continued. And as for those who are either the authors or admirers of such compositions, I would have them consider with themselves, whether the name of a good churchman can atone for the want of that charity which is the most essential part of Christianity. They would likewise do well to reflect, how by these methods, the poison has run freely into the minds of the weak and ignorant; heightened their rage against many of their fellow-subjects; and almost divested them of the common sentiments of humanity.

In the former part of this paper, I have hinted that the design of it is to oppose the principles of those who are enemies to the present government, and the main body of that party who espouse those principles. But even in such general attacks there are certain measures to be kept, which may have a tendency rather to gain, than to irritate those who differ with you in their sentiments. The *Examiner* would not allow such as were of a contrary opinion to him, to be either Christians or fellow-subjects. With him they were all Atheists, Deists, or Apostates, and a separate commonwealth among themselves, that ought either to be extirpated, or, when he was in a better humour, only to be banished

nished out of their native country. They were often put in mind of some approaching execution, and therefore all of them advised to prepare themselves for it, as men who had then nothing to take care of, but how to die decently. In short, the *Examiner* seemed to make no distinction between conquest and destruction.

The conduct of this work has hitherto been regulated by different views, and shall continue to be so, unless the party it has to deal with draw upon themselves another kind of treatment. For if they shall persist in pointing their batteries against particular persons, there are no laws of war that forbid the making of reprisals. In the mean time, this undertaking shall be managed with that generous spirit which was so remarkable among the *Romans*, who did not subdue a country in order to put the inhabitants to fire and sword, but to incorporate them into their own community, and make them happy in the same government with themselves.



N^o 20. Monday, February 27.

*Privatus illis Census erat brevis,
Commune magnum* —

HOR.

IT is very unlucky for those who make it their business to raise popular murmurs and discontents against his majesty's government, that they find so very few and so very improper occasions for them. To shew how hard they are set in this particular, there are several, who for want of other materials, are forced to represent the bill which has passed this session, for laying an additional tax of two shillings in the pound upon land, as a kind of grievance upon the subject. If this be a matter of complaint, it ought in justice to fall

fall upon those who have made it necessary. Had there been no rebellion, there would have been no increase of the land-tax; so that in proportion as a man declares his aversion to the one, he ought to testify his abhorrence of the other. But it is very remarkable that those, who would persuade the people that they are aggrieved by this additional burden, are the very persons who endeavour, in their ordinary conversation, to extenuate the heinousness of the rebellion, and who express the greatest tenderness for the persons of the rebels. They shew a particular indulgence for that unnatural insurrection which has drawn this load upon us, and are angry at the means which were necessary for suppressing it. There needs no clearer proof of the spirit and intention with which they act: I shall therefore advise my fellow free-holders to consider the character of any person who would possess them with the notion of a hardship that is put upon the country by this tax. If he be one of known affection to the present establishment, they may imagine there is some reason for complaint. But if on the contrary he be one, who has shewn himself indifferent as to the success of the present rebellion, or is suspected as a private abetter of it, they may take it for granted, his complaint against the land-tax is either the rage of a disappointed man, or the artifice of one who would alienate their affections from the present government.

The expence which will arise to the nation from this rebellion, is already computed at near a million. And it is a melancholy consideration for the free-holders of *Great Britain*, that the treason of their fellow-subjects should bring upon them as great a charge as the war with *France*. At the same time every reasonable man among them will pay a tax with at least as great chearfulness for stifling a civil war in its birth, as for carrying on a war in a foreign country. Had not our first supplies been effectual for the crushing of our domestick enemies, we should immediately have beheld the whole kingdom a scene of slaughter and desolation: whereas, if we had failed in our first attempts upon a distant nation, we might have repaired the

losses

losses of one campaign by the advantages of another, and after several victories gained over us, might still have kept the enemy from our gates.

As it was thus absolutely necessary to raise a sum that might enable the government to put a speedy stop to the rebellion, so could there be no method thought of for raising such a sum more proper, than this of laying an additional tax of two shillings in the pound upon land.

In the first place : This tax has already been so often tried, that we know the exact produce of it, which in any new project is always very doubtful and uncertain. As we are thus acquainted with the produce of this tax, we find it is adequate to the services for which it is designed, and that the additional tax is proportioned to the supernumerary expence, which falls upon the kingdom this year by the unnatural rebellion, as it has been above stated.

In the next place : No other tax could have been thought of, upon which so much money would have been immediately advanced as was necessary in so critical a juncture for pushing our successes against the rebels, and preventing the attempts of their friends and confederates both at home and abroad. No-body cares to make loans upon a new and untried project ; whereas men never fail to bring in their money upon a land-tax, when the premium or interest allowed them is suited to the hazard they run by such loans to the government. And here one cannot but bewail the misfortune of our country, when we consider, that the house of commons had last year reduced this interest to four *per cent.* by which means there was a considerable saving to the nation ; but that this year they have been forced to give six *per cent.* as well knowing the fatal consequences that might have ensued, had there not been an interest allowed, which would certainly encourage the lender to venture, in such a time of danger, what was indispensable necessary for the exigences of the publick.

Besides ; this is a method for raising a sum of money, that, with the ordinary taxes, will, in all probability defray the whole expence of a year : So that there is

no burden laid upon our posterity, who have been sufficiently loaded by other means of raising money; nor any deficiency to be hereafter made up by ourselves; which has been our case in so many other subsidies.

To this we may add; that we have no example of any other tax, which, in its nature, would so particularly affect the enemies to his majesty's government. Multitudes of *Papists* and *Nonjurors* will be obliged to furnish a double proportion out of their revenues towards the clearing of that expence, which by their open and secret practices they have been instrumental in bringing upon their fellow-subjects.

I shall only mention one consideration more; that no other tax is so likely to cease as this is, when there is no farther occasion for it. This tax is established by a house of commons, which, by virtue of an act of parliament passed a few years ago, must consist for the most part of landed men; so that a great share of the weight of it must necessarily fall upon the members of their own body. As this is an instance of their publick spirit so we may be sure they would not have exerted it, had there not been an absolute necessity: nor can we doubt, that for the same reasons, when this necessity ceases, they will take the first opportunity of easing themselves in this particular, as well as those whom they represent. It is a celebrated notion of a patriot, who signally distinguished himself for the liberties of his country, that a house of commons should never grant such subsidies as are easy to be raised, and give no pain to the people, lest the nation should acquiesce under a burden they did not feel, and see it perpetuated without repining. Whether this notion might not be too refined, I shall not determine; but by what has been already said, I think we may promise ourselves, that this additional tax of two shillings in the pound will not be continued another year, because we may hope the rebellion will be entirely ended in this.

And here, I believe, it must be obvious to every one's reflection, that the rebellion might not have concluded so soon, had not this method been made use of for that end. A foreign potentate trembles at the thought of
 entering

entring into a war with so wealthy an enemy as the *British* nation, when he finds the whole landed interest of the kingdom engaged to oppose him with their united force; and at all times ready to employ against him such a part of their revenues, as shall be sufficient to baffle his design upon their country: especially when none can imagine, that he expects any encouragement from those, whose fortunes are either lodged in the funds, or employed in trade.

The wisdom therefore of the present house of commons has by this tax not only enabled the king to subdue those of his own subjects who have been actually in arms against him, but to divert any of his neighbours from the hopes of lending them a competent assistance.



N^o 21. Friday, March 2.

*Qualis in Eurotae ripis, aut per juga Cynthi,
Exercet Diana choros; quam millae secutae
Hinc atque hinc glomerantur Oreades: illa pharetram
Fert humero, gradiensque Deas supereminet omnes.* VIR.

IT is not easy for any one, who saw the magnificence of yesterday in the court of *Great Britain*, to turn his thoughts for some time after on any other subject. It was a solemnity every way suited to the birth-day of a princess, who is the delight of our nation, and the glory of her sex. *Homer* tells us, that when the daughter of *Jupiter* presented herself among a croud of goddesses, she was distinguished from the rest by her graceful stature, and known by her superior beauty notwithstanding they were all beautiful. Such was the appearance of the princess of *Wales* among our *British* ladies; or (to use a more solemn phrase) of the king's daughter among

among her honourable women. Her royal highness in the midst of such a circle raises in the beholder the idea of a fine picture, where (notwithstanding the diversity of pleasing objects that fill up the canvas) the principal figure immediately takes the eye, and fixes the attention.

When this excellent princess was yet in her father's court, she was so celebrated for the beauty of her person, and the accomplishments of her mind, that there was no prince in the empire, who had room for such an alliance, that was not ambitious of gaining her into his family, either as a daughter, or as a consort. He who is now the chief of the crowned heads in *Europe*, and was then king of *Spain*, and heir to all the dominions of the house of *Austria*, sought her in marriage. Could her mind have been captivated with the glories of this world, she had them all laid before her; but she generously declined them, because she saw the acceptance of them was inconsistent with what she esteems more than all the glories of this world, the enjoyment of her religion. Providence however kept in store a reward for such an exalted virtue; and, by the secret methods of its wisdom, opened a way for her to become the greatest of her sex, among those who profess that faith to which she adhered with so much Christian magnanimity.

This her illustrious conduct might, in the eye of the world, have lost its merit, had so accomplished a prince as his royal highness declared his passion for the same alliance at that time: It would then have been no wonder that all other proposals had been rejected. But it was the fame of this heroick constancy that determined his royal highness to desire in marriage a princess whose personal charms, which had before been so universally admired, were now become the least part of her character. We of the *British* nation have reason to rejoice, that such a proposal was made and accepted; and that her royal highness, with regard to these two successive treaties of marriage, shewed as much prudence in her compliance with the one, as piety in her refusal of the other.

The

The princess was no sooner arrived at *Hanover*, than she improved the lustre of that court, which was before reckoned among the politest in *Europe*; and increased the satisfaction of that people, who were before looked upon as the happiest in the empire. She immediately became the darling of the princess *Sophia*, who was acknowledged in all the courts of *Europe*, the most accomplished woman of the age in which she lived, and who was not a little pleased with the conversation of one in whom she saw so lively an image of her own youth.

But I shall insist no longer on that reputation which her royal highness has acquired in other countries. We daily discover those admirable qualities for which she is justly famed, and rejoice to see them exerted in our own country, where we ourselves are made happy by their influence. We are the more pleased to behold the throne of these kingdoms surrounded by a numerous and beautiful progeny, when we consider the virtues of those from whom they descend. Not only the features, but the mind of the parent, is often copied out in the offspring. But the princess we are speaking of, takes the surest method of making her royal issue like herself, by instilling early into their minds all the principles of religion, virtue, and honour, and seasoning their tender years with all that knowledge which they are capable of receiving. What may we not hope from such an uncommon care in the education of the children of *Great Britain*, who are directed by such precepts, and will be formed by such an example!

The conjugal virtues are so remarkable in her royal highness, as to deserve those just and generous returns of love and tenderness, for which the prince her husband is so universally celebrated.

But there is no part of her royal highness's character which we observe with greater pleasure, than that behaviour by which she has so much endeared herself to his majesty; though indeed we have no reason to be surprized at this mutual intercourse of duty and affection, when we consider so wise and virtuous a princess

possessing, in the same sacred person, the kindest of fathers, and the best of kings. And here it is natural for us to congratulate our own good fortune, who see our sovereign blest with a numerous issue, among whom are heirs male in two direct descents, which has not happened in the reign of any *English* king since the time of his majesty's great ancestor *Edward III.* and is a felicity not enjoyed by the subjects of any other of the kings of *Europe* who are his contemporaries. We are like men entertained with the view of a spacious landskip, where the eye passes over one pleasing prospect into another, till the sight is lost by degrees in a succession of delightful objects, and leaves us in the persuasion that there remain still more behind.

But if we regard her royal highness in that light which diffuses the greatest glory round a human character, we shall find the Christian no less conspicuous than the princess. She is as eminent for a sincere piety in the practice of religion, as for an inviolable adherence to its principles. She is constant in her attendance on the daily offices of our church, and by her serious and devout comportment on these solemn occasions, gives an example that is very often too much wanted in courts.

Her religion is equally free from the weakness of superstition, and the sourness of enthusiasm. It is not of that uncomfortable melancholy nature which disappoints its own end, by appearing unamiable to those whom it would gain to its interests. It discovers itself in the genuine effects of Christianity, in affability, compassion, benevolence, evenness of mind, and all the offices of an active and universal charity.

As a chearful temper is the necessary result of these virtues, so it shines out in all the parts of her conversation, and dissipates those apprehensions which naturally hang on the timorous or the modest, when they are admitted to the honour of her presence. There is none that does not listen with pleasure to a person in so high a station, who condescends to make herself thus agreeable, by mirth without levity, and wit without ill-nature.

Her

Her royal highness is, indeed, possess'd of all those talents which make conversation either delightful or improving. As she has a fine taste of the elegant arts, and is skilled in several modern languages, her discourse is not confined to the ordinary subjects or forms of conversation, but can adapt itself with an uncommon grace to every occasion, and entertain the politest persons of different nations. I need not mention, what is observed by every one, that agreeable turn which appears in her sentiments upon the most ordinary affairs of life, and which is so suitable to the delicacy of her sex, the politeness of her education, and the splendor of her quality.

It would be vain to think of drawing into the compass of this paper, the many eminent virtues which adorn the character of this great princess: but as it is one chief end of this undertaking, to make the people sensible of the blessings which they enjoy under his majesty's reign, I could not but lay hold on this opportunity to speak of that which ought in justice to be reckoned among the greatest of them.



N^o 22. Monday, March 5.

Studiis rudis, sermone barbarus, impetu strenuus, manu promptus, cogitatione celer. VELL. PATERC.

FOR the honour of his majesty, and the safety of his government, we cannot but observe that those who have appeared the greatest enemies to both, are of that rank of men, who are commonly distinguished by the title of *fox-hunters*. As several of these have had no part of their education in cities, camps, or courts, it is doubtful whether they are of greater ornament or use to the nation in which they live. It would be an everlasting reproach to politicks, should

should such men be able to overturn an establishment which has been formed by the wisest laws, and is supported by the ablest heads. The wrong notions and prejudices which cleave to many of these country-gentlemen, who have always lived out of the way of being better informed, are not easy to be conceived by a person who has never conversed with them.

That I may give my readers an image of these rural statesmen, I shall, without farther preface, set down an account of a discourse I chanced to have with one of them some time ago. I was travelling towards one of the remotest parts of *England*, when about three o'clock in the afternoon, seeing a country-gentleman trotting before me with a spaniel by his horse's side, I made up to him. Our conversation opened, as usual, upon the weather; in which we were very unanimous; having both agreed that it was too dry for the season of the year. My fellow-traveller, upon this, observed to me, that there had been no good weather since the revolution. I was a little startled at so extraordinary a remark, but would not interrupt him till he proceeded to tell me of the fine weather they used to have in king *Charles* the second's reign. I only answered, that I did not see how the badness of the weather could be the king's fault; and, without waiting for his reply, asked him whose house it was we saw upon a rising ground at a little distance from us. He told me it belonged to an old fanatical cur, Mr. Such-a-one, *You must have heard of him*, says he, *he's one of the rump*. I knew the gentleman's character upon hearing his name, but assured him that to my knowledge he was a good churchman: *Ay!* says he, with a kind of surprise, *We are told in the country, that he spoke twice in the queen's time against taking off the duties upon French claret*. This naturally led us into the proceedings of late parliaments, upon which occasion he affirmed roundly, that there had not been one good law passed since king *William's* accession to the throne, except the act for preserving the game. I had a mind to see him out, and therefore did not care for contradicting him. *Is it not hard*, says he, *that honest gentlemen*
should

*should be taken into custody of messengers to prevent them from acting according to their consciences? But, says he, what can we expect when a parcel of factious sons of whores—*He was going on in great passion, but chanced to miss his dog, who was amusing himself about a bush that grew at some distance behind us. We stood still till he had whistled him up; when he fell into a long panegyrick upon his spaniel, who seemed indeed excellent in his kind: but I found the most remarkable adventure of his life was, that he had once like to have worried a dissenting-teacher. The master could hardly sit on his horse for laughing all the while he was giving me the particulars of this story, which I found had mightily endeared his dog to him, and as he himself told me, had made him a great favourite among all the honest gentlemen of the country. We were at length diverted from this piece of mirth by a post-boy, who winding his horn at us, my companion gave him two or three curses, and left the way clear for him. *I fancy, said I, that post brings news from Scotland. I shall long to see the next gazette.* Sir, says he, *I make it a rule never to believe any of your printed news. We never see, Sir, how things go, except now and then in Dyer's letter, and I read that more for the style than the news. The man has a clever pen it must be owned. But is it not strange that we should be making war upon church of England men, with Dutch and Swiss soldiers, men of antimonarchical principles? These foreigners will never be loved in England, Sir; they have not that wit and good-breeding that we have.* I must confess I did not expect to hear my new acquaintance value himself upon these qualifications, but finding him such a critick upon foreigners, I asked him if he had ever travelled? he told me, he did not know what travelling was good for, but to teach a man to ride the great horse, to jabber French, and to talk against passive-obedience: to which he added, that he scarce ever knew a traveller in his life who had not forsook his principles, and lost his hunting-seat. *For my part, says he, I and my father before me have always been for passive-obedience, and shall be always*
for

for opposing a prince who makes use of ministers that are of another opinion. But where do you intend to inn to-night? (for we were now come in sight of the next town) I can help you to a very good landlord if you will go along with me. He's a lusty jolly fellow, that lives well, at least, three yards in the girt, and the best church of England man upon the road. I had a curiosity to see this high-church inn-keeper, as well as to enjoy more of the conversation of my fellow-traveller, and therefore readily consented to set our horses together for that night. As we rode side by side through the town, I was let into the characters of all the principal inhabitants whom we met in our way. One was a dog, another a whelp, another a cur, and another the son of a bitch, under which several denominations were comprehended all that voted on the *Whig* side in the last election of burgessees. As for those of his own party, he distinguished them by a nod of his head, and asking them how they did, by their Christian names. Upon our arrival at the inn, my companion fetched out the jolly landlord, who knew him by his whistle, many endearments, and private whispers passed between them; though it was easy to see, by the landlord's scratching his head, that things did not go to their wishes. The landlord had swelled his body to a prodigious size, and work'd up his complexion to a standing crimson by his zeal for the prosperity of the church, which he expressed every hour of the day, as his customers dropt in, by repeated bumpers. He had not time to go to church himself, but as my friend told me in my ear, had headed a mob at the pulling down of two or three meeting-houses: while supper was preparing, he enlarged upon the happiness of the neighbouring shire; For, says he, *there is scarce a Presbyterian in the whole county, except the bishop*. In short, I found by his discourse that he had learned a great deal of politicks, but not one word of religion, from the parson of his parish; and, indeed that he had scarce any other notion of religion, but that it consisted in hating Presbyterians. I had a remarkable instance of his notions in

in this particular. Upon seeing a poor decrepid old woman pass under the window where we sat, he desired me to take notice of her; and afterwards informed me, that she was generally reputed a Witch by the country people, but that, for his part, he was apt to believe she was a Presbyterian.

Supper was no sooner served in, than he took occasion, from a shoulder of mutton that lay before us, to cry up the plenty of *England*, which would be the happiest country in the world, provided we would live within ourselves. Upon which, he expatiated upon the inconveniences of trade, that carried from us the commodities of our country, and made a parcel of upstarts as rich as men of the most ancient families of *England*. He then declared frankly, that he had always been against all treaties and alliances with foreigners; *Our wooden walls*, says he, *are our security, and we may bid defiance to the whole world, especially if they should attack us when the militia is out.* I ventured to reply, that I had as great an opinion of the *English* fleet as he had; but I could not see how they could be paid, and manned, and fitted out, unless we encouraged trade and navigation. He replied, with some vehemence, that he would undertake to prove, trade would be the ruin of the *English* nation. I would fain have put him upon it, but he contented himself with affirming it more eagerly, to which he added two or three curses upon the *London* merchants, not forgetting the directors of the bank. After supper he asked if I was an admirer of punch; and immediately called for a sneaker. I took this occasion to insinuate the advantages of trade, by observing to him, that water was the only native of *England* that could be made use of on this occasion: but that the lemons, the brandy, the sugar, and the nutmeg, were all foreigners. This put him into some confusion; but the landlord, who overheard me, brought him off, by affirming, that for constant use, there was no liquor like a cup of *English* water, provided it had malt enough in it. My squire laughed heartily at the conceit, and made the landlord sit down with us. We sat pretty late over our punch; and,

and, amidst a great deal of improving discourse, drank the healths of several persons in the country, whom I had never heard of, that, they both assured me, were the ablest statesmen in the nation: and of some *Londoners*, whom they extolled to the skies, for their wit, and who, I knew, passed in town for silly fellows. It being now midnight, and my friend perceiving by his almanack that the moon was up, he called for his horses, and took a sudden resolution to go to his house, which was at three miles distance from the town, after having bethought himself that he never slept well out of his own bed. He shook me very heartily by the hand at parting, and discovered a great air of satisfaction in his looks, that he had met with an opportunity of shewing his parts, and left me a much wiser man than he found me.



N^o 23. Friday, March 9.

*Illis ira modum supra est, et saepe venenum
Morsibus inspirant———*

VIRG.

IN the wars of *Europe* which were waged among our forefathers, it was usual for the enemy, when there was a king in the field, to demand by a trumpet in what part of the camp he resided, that they might avoid firing upon the royal pavilion. Our party-contests in *England* were heretofore managed with the same kind of decency and good-breeding. The person of the prince was always looked upon as sacred; and whatever severe usage his friends or ministers met with, none presumed to direct their hostilities at their sovereign. The enemies of our present settlement are of such a coarse kind of make, and so equally void of loyalty and good manners, that they are grown scurrilous

lous upon the royal family, and treat the most exalted characters with the most opprobrious language.

This petulance in conversation is particularly observed to prevail among some of that sex where it appears the most unbecoming and the most unnatural. Many of these act with the greater licentiousness, because they know they can act with the greater impunity. This consideration, indeed, engages the most generous and well-bred even of our she malecontents, to make no ill use of the indulgence of our lawgivers; and to discover in their debates at least the delicacy of the woman, if not the duty of the subject. But it is generally remarked, that every one of them who is a threw in domestick life, is now become a scold in politicks. And as for those of the party, who are of a superior rank and unblemished virtue, it must be a melancholy reflection for them to consider that all the common women of the town are of their side; for which reason they ought to preserve a more than ordinary modesty in their satirical excursions, that their characters may not be liable to suspicion.

If there is not some method found out for allaying these heats and animosities among the fair sex, one does not know to what outrages they may proceed. I remember a heroe in *Scarron*, who finding himself opposed by a mixed multitude of both sexes with a great deal of virulent language, after having brought them to a submission, gave order (to keep them from doing farther mischief) that the men should be disarmed of their clubs, and that the women should have their nails pared. We are not yet reduced to the necessity of applying such violent remedies: but as we daily receive accounts of ladies battling it on both sides, and that those who appear against the constitution make war upon their antagonists by many unfair practices and unwarrantable methods, I think it is very convenient there should be a cartel settled between them. If they have not yet agreed upon any thing of this nature among themselves, I would propose to them the following plan, in which I have sketched out several rules, suited to the politest sex in one of the most civilized nations.

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THAT

THAT in every political rencounter between woman and woman, no weapon shall be made use of but the tongue.

That in the course of the engagement, if either of the combatants, finding herself hard prest by her adversary, shall proceed to personal reflections or discovery of secrets, they shall be parted by the standers-by.

That when both sides are drawn up in a full assembly, it shall not be lawful for above five of them to talk at the same time.

That if any shall detract from a lady's character (unless she be absent) the said detractress shall be forthwith ordered to the lowest place of the room.

That none presume to speak disrespectfully of his majesty, or any of the royal family, on pain of three hours silence.

That none be permitted to talk spitefully of the court, unless they can produce vouchers that they have been there.

That the making use of news which goes about in whisper, unless the author be produced, or the fact well attested, shall be deemed fighting with white powder, and contrary to the laws of war.

That any one who produces libels or lampoons, shall be regarded in the same manner as one who shoots with poisoned bullets.

That when a lady is thoroughly convinced of the falsehood of any story she has related, she shall give her parole not to tell it for a certain truth that winter.

That when any matter of doubt arises which cannot otherwise be decided, appeal shall be made to a toast, if there be any such in the company.

That no coquette, notwithstanding she can do it with a good air, shall be allowed to sigh for the danger of the church, or to shiver at the apprehensions of Fanaticism.

That when a woman has talked an hour and a half, it shall be lawful to call her down to order.

As this civil discord among the sisterhood of *Great Britain* is likely to engage them in a long and lingering war,

war, consisting altogether of drawn battles, it is the more necessary that there should be a cartel settled among them. Besides, as our *English* ladies are at present the greatest stateswomen in *Europe*, they will be in danger of making themselves the most unamiable part of their sex, if they continue to give a loose to intemperate language, and to a low kind of ribaldry, which is not used among the women of fashion in any other country.

Discretion and good-nature have been always looked upon as the distinguishing ornaments of female conversation. The woman, whose price is above rubies, has no particular in the character given of her by the wise man, more endearing, than that *she openeth her mouth with wisdom, and in her tongue is the law of kindness*. Besides, every fierce she-zealot should consider, that however any other of the sex may seem to applaud her as a partisan, there is none of them who would not be afraid of associating himself with her in any of the more private relations of life.

I shall only add, that there is no talent so pernicious as eloquence, to those who have it not under command: for which reason, women who are so liberally gifted by nature in this particular, ought to study with the greatest application, the rules of female oratory, delivered in that excellent treatise, intituled *The government of the tongue*. Had that author foreseen the political ferment which is now raised among the sex, he would probably have made his book larger by some chapters than it is at present: but what is wanting in that work, may, I hope, in some measure be supplied by the above-written cartel.





N^o 24. Monday, March 12.

*Bellum importunum, cives, cum gente deorum
Invictisque viris geritis ———* VIRG.

A PHYSICIAN makes use of various methods for the recovery of sick persons; and though some of them are painful, and all of them disagreeable, his patients are never angry at him, because they know he has nothing in view besides the restoring of them to a good state of health. I am forced to treat the disaffected part of his majesty's subjects in the same manner, and may therefore reasonably expect the same returns of good-will. I propose nothing to myself but their happiness as the end of all my endeavours; and am forced to adapt different remedies to those different constitutions, which are to be found in such a distempered multitude. Some of them can see the unreasonable, and some of them the ridiculous side of wrong principles, and according to the different frame of their minds, reject an opinion as it carries in it either the appearance of wickedness, or of danger, or of folly.

I have endeavoured to expose in these several lights the notions and practices of those who are the enemies to our present establishment. But there is a set of arguments, which I have not yet touched upon, and which often succeed, when all others fail. There are many who will not quit a project though they find it pernicious, or absurd: but will readily desist from it, when they are convinced it is impracticable. An attempt to subvert the present government is, God be thanked, of this nature. I shall therefore apply the considerations of this paper rather to the discretion than the virtue of our malecontents, who should act in the present juncture

junction of affairs like experienced gamesters, that throw up their cards when they know the game is in the enemy's hand, without giving themselves any unnecessary vexation in playing it out.

In the reign of our two last *British* sovereigns, those who did not favour their interest might be ungenerous enough to act upon the prospect of a change, considering the precarious condition of their health, and their want of issue to succeed them. But at present we enjoy a king of a long-liv'd family, who is in the vigour of his age, and blest with a numerous progeny. To this we may add his remarkable steadiness in adhering to those schemes which he has formed upon the maturest deliberation, and that submissive deference of his royal highness both from duty and inclination to all the measures of his royal father. Nor must we omit that personal valour so peculiar to his majesty and his illustrious house, which would be sufficient to vanquish, as we find it actually deters, both his foreign and domestick enemies.

This great prince is supported by the whole Protestant interest of *Europe*, and strengthened with a long range of alliances that reach from one end of the continent to the other. He has a great and powerful king for his son-in-law; and can himself command when he pleases the whole strength of an electorate in the empire. Such a combination of sovereigns puts one in mind of the apparition of Gods which discouraged *Æneas* from opposing the will of heaven. When his eyes were cleared of that mortal cloud which hung upon them, he saw the several celestial deities acting in a confederacy against him, and immediately gave up a cause which was excluded from all possibility of success.

But it is the greatest happiness, as well as the greatest pleasure of our sovereign, that his chief strength lies in his own kingdoms. Both the branches of our legislature espouse his cause and interest with a becoming duty and zeal. The most considerable and wealthy of his subjects are convinced that the prosperity of our sovereign and his people are inseparable: and we are very well satisfied, that his majesty, if the necessity of

affairs should require it, might find amongst the most dutiful of his subjects, men celebrated for their military characters, above any of the age in which they live. There is no question but his majesty will be as generally valued and beloved in his *British* as he is in his *German* dominions, when he shall have time to make his royal virtues equally known among us. In the mean while we have the satisfaction to find that his enemies have been only able to make ill impressions upon the low and ignorant rabble of the nation; and to put the dregs of the people into a ferment.

We have already seen how poor and contemptible a force has been raised by those who have dared to appear openly against his majesty, and how they were headed and encouraged by men whose sense of their guilt made them desperate in forming so rash an enterprize, and dispirited in the execution of it. But we have not yet seen that strength which would be exerted in the defence of his majesty, the Protestant religion, and the *British* liberties, were the danger great enough to require it. Should the king be reduced to the necessity of setting up the royal standard, how many thousands would range themselves under it! What a concourse would there be of nobles and patriots! We should see men of another spirit than what has appeared among the enemies to our country, and such as would out-shine the rebellious part of their fellow-subjects as much in their gallantry as in their cause.

I shall not so much suspect the understandings of our adversaries, as to think it necessary to enforce these considerations, by putting them in mind of that fidelity and allegiance which is so visible in his majesty's fleet and army, or of many other particulars, which in all human probability, will perpetuate our present form of government, and which may be suggested to them by their own private thoughts.

The party, indeed, that is opposite to our present happy settlement, seem to be driven out of the hopes of all human methods for carrying on their cause, and are therefore reduced to the poor comfort of prodigies and

and old womens fables. They begin to see armies in the clouds, when all upon the earth have forsaken them. Nay, I have been lately shewn a written prophesy that is handed among them with great secrecy, by which it appears their chief reliance at present is upon a *Cheshire* miller that was born with two thumbs upon one hand.

I have address'd this whole paper to the despair of our malecontents, not with a design to aggravate the pain of it, but to use it as a means of making them happy. Let them seriously consider the vexation and disquietude of mind that they are treasuring up for themselves by struggling with a power which will be always too hard for them; and by converting his majesty's reign into their own misfortune, which every impartial man must look upon as the greatest blessing to his country. Let them extinguish those passions, which can only embitter their lives to them, and deprive them of their share in the happiness of the community. They may conclude that his majesty, in spite of any opposition they can form against him, will maintain his just authority over them; and whatever uneasiness they may give themselves, they can create none in him, excepting only because they prevent him from exerting equally his natural goodness and benevolence to every subject in his dominions.



NO 25. Friday, March 17.

Quid est sapientiae? semper idem velle atque idem nolle.
SENEC.

IF we may believe the observation which is made of us by foreigners, there is no nation in *Europe* so much given to change as the *English*. There are some who ascribe this to the sickleness of our climate; and

and others to the freedom of our government. From one or both of these causes their writers derive that variety of humours which appears among the people in general, and that inconsistency of character which is to be found in almost every particular person. But as a man should always be upon his guard against the vices to which he is most exposed, so we should take a more than ordinary care not to lie at the mercy of the weather in our moral conduct, nor to make a capricious use of that liberty which we enjoy by the happiness of our civil constitution.

This instability of temper ought in a particular manner to be check'd, when it shews itself in political affairs, and disposes men to wander from one scheme of government to another: since such a fickleness of behaviour in publick measures, cannot but be attended with very fatal effects to our country.

In the first place; it hinders any great undertaking, which requires length of time for its accomplishment from being brought to its due perfection. There is not any instance in history which better confirms this observation, than that which is still fresh in every one's memory. We engaged in the late war with a design to reduce an exorbitant growth of power in the most dangerous enemy to *Great Britain*. We gained a long and wonderful series of victories, and had scarce any thing left to do, but to reap the fruits of them: when on a sudden our patience failed us; we grew tired of our undertaking; and received terms from those who were upon the point of giving us whatever we could have demanded of them.

This mutability of mind in the *English*, makes the ancient friends of our nation very backward to engage with us in such alliances as are necessary for our mutual defence and security. It is a common notion among foreigners, that the *English* are good confederates in an enterprize which may be dispatched within a short compass of time; but that they are not to be depended upon in a work which cannot be finished without constancy and perseverance. Our late measures have so blemished the national credit in this particular,

ticular, that those potentates who are entered into treaties with his present majesty, have been solely encouraged to it by their confidence in his personal firmness and integrity.

I need not, after this, suggest to my reader the ignominy and reproach that falls upon a nation, which distinguishes itself among its neighbours by such a wavering and unsettled conduct.

This our inconsistency in the pursuit of schemes which have been thoroughly digested, has as bad an influence on our domestick as on our foreign affairs. We are told, that the famous prince of *Conde* used to ask the *English* ambassador upon the arrival of a mail, *Who was secretary of state in England by that post?* as a piece of raillery upon the fickleness of our politicks. But what has rendered this a misfortune to our country, is, that publick ministers have no sooner made themselves masters of their business, than they have been dismissed from their employments; and that this disgrace has befallen very many of them, not because they have deserved it, but because the people love to see new faces in high posts of honour.

It is a double misfortune to a nation, which is thus given to change, when they have a sovereign at the head of them, that is prone to fall in with all the turns and veerings of the people. *Sallust*, the gravest of all the *Roman* historians, who had formed his notions of regal authority from the manner in which he saw it exerted among the barbarous nations, makes the following remark: *Plerumque regiae voluntates, uti vehementes, sic mobiles saepe ipsae sibi adversae.* The wills of kings, as they are generally vehement, are likewise very fickle, and at different times opposite to themselves. Were there any colour for this general observation, how much does it redound to the honour of such princes who are exceptions to it!

The natural consequence of an unsteady government, is the perpetuating of strife and faction among a divided people. Whereas a king who persists in those schemes which he has laid and has no other view in them but the good of his subjects, extinguishes all hopes

hopes of advancement in those who would grow great by an opposition to his measures, and insensibly unites the contending parties in their common interest.

Queen *Elizabeth*, who makes the greatest figure among our *English* sovereigns, was most eminently remarkable for that steadiness and uniformity which ran through all her actions, during that long and glorious reign. She kept up to her chosen motto in every part of her life; and never lost sight of those great ends, which she proposed to herself on her accession to the throne, the happiness of her people, and the strengthening of the Protestant interest. She often interposed her royal authority to break the cabals which were forming against her first ministers, who grew old and died in those stations which they filled with so great abilities. By this means she baffled the many attempts of her foreign and domestick enemies, and entirely broke the whole force and spirit of that party among her subjects, which was popishly affected, and which was not a little formidable in the beginning of her reign.

The frequent changes and alterations in publick proceedings, the multiplicity of schemes introduced one upon another, with the variety of short-lived favourites, that prevailed in their several turns under the government of her successors, have by degrees broken us into those unhappy distinctions and parties, which have given so much uneasiness to our kings, and so often endangered the safety of their people.

I question not but every impartial reader hath been beforehand with me, in considering, on this occasion, the happiness of our country under the government of his present majesty; who is so deservedly famous for an inflexible adherence to those counsels which have a visible tendency to the publick good; and to those persons who heartily concur with him in promoting these his generous designs.

A prince of this character will be dreaded by his enemies, and served with courage and zeal by his friends; and will either instruct us by his example to
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fix the unsteadiness of our politicks, or by his conduct hinder it from doing us any prejudice.

Upon the whole, as there is no temper of mind more unmanly in a private person, nor more pernicious to the publick in a member of a community, than that changeableness with which we are too justly branded by all our neighbours, it is to be hoped that the sound part of the nation will give no farther occasion for this reproach, but continue steady to that happy establishment which has now taken place among us. And as obstinacy in prejudices which are detrimental to our country, ought not to be mistaken for that virtuous resolution and firmness of mind which is necessary to our preservation, it is to be wished that the enemies to our constitution would so far indulge themselves in this national humour, as to come into one change more, by falling in with that plan of government which at present they think fit to oppose. At least we may expect they will be so wise as to shew a legal obedience to the best of kings, who profess the duty of passive obedience to the worst.



Nº 26. Monday, March 19.

Bella viri pacemque gerant, queis bella gerenda. VIRG.

WHEN the *Athenians* had long contended against the power of *Philip*, he demanded of them to give up their orators, as well knowing their opposition would be soon at an end if it were not irritated from time to time by these tongue-warriors. I have endeavoured, for the same reason, to gain our female adversaries, and by that means to disarm the party of its principal strength. Let them give us up their women, and we know by experience how inconsiderable a resistance we are to expect from their men.

This

This sharp political humour has but lately prevailed in so great a measure as it now does among the beautiful part of our species. They used to employ themselves wholly in the scenes of a domestic life, and provided a woman could keep her house in order, she never troubled herself about regulating the commonwealth. The eye of the mistress was wont to make her pewter shine, and to inspect every part of her household furniture as much as her looking-glass. But at present our discontented matrons are so conversant in matters of state, that they wholly neglect their private affairs: for we may always observe that a gossip in politicks, is a slattern in her family.

It is indeed a melancholy thing to see the disorders of a household that is under the conduct of an angry stateswoman, who lays out all her thoughts upon the publick, and is only attentive to find out miscarriages in the ministry. Several women of this turn are so earnest in contending for hereditary right, that they wholly neglect the education of their own sons and heirs: and are so taken up with their zeal for the church, that they cannot find time to teach their children their catechism. A lady who thus intrudes into the province of the men, was so astonishing a character among the old *Romans*, that when *Amælia* presented herself to speak before the senate, they looked upon it as a prodigy, and sent messengers to inquire of the oracle, what it might portend to the commonwealth.

It would be manifestly to the disadvantage of the *British* cause, should our pretty loyalists profess an indifference in state-affairs, while their disaffected sisters are thus industrious to the prejudice of their country; and accordingly we have the satisfaction to find our she-associates are not idle upon this occasion. It is owing to the good principles of these his majesty's fair and faithful subjects, that our country-women appear no less amiable in the eyes of the male-world, than they have done in former ages. For where a great number of flowers grow, the ground at a distance seems entirely covered with them, and we must walk

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into it, before we can distinguish the several weeds that spring up in such a beautiful mass of colours. Our great concern is, to find that deformity can arise among so many charms, and that the most lovely parts of the creation can make themselves the most disagreeable. But it is an observation of the philosophers, that the best things may be corrupted into the worst; and the ancients did not scruple to affirm, that the Furies and the Graces were of the same sex.

As I should do the nation and themselves good service, if I could draw the ladies, who still hold out against his majesty, into the interest of our present establishment, I shall propose to their serious consideration, the several inconveniences which those among them undergo, who have not yet surrendered to the government.

They should first reflect on the great sufferings and persecutions to which they expose themselves by the obstinacy of their behaviour. They lose their elections in every club where they are set up for toasts. They are obliged by their principles to stick a patch on the most unbecoming side of their foreheads. They forego the advantage of birth-day suits. They are insulted by the loyalty of claps and hisses every time they appear at a play. They receive no benefit from the army, and are never the better for all the young fellows that wear hats and feathers. They are forced to live in the country and feed their chickens; at the same time that they might shew themselves at court, and appear in brocade, if they behaved themselves well. In short, what must go to the heart of every fine woman, they throw themselves quite out of the fashion.

The above-mentioned motive must have an influence upon the gay part of the sex; and as for those who are acted by more sublime and moral principles, they should consider, that they cannot signalize themselves as malecontents, without breaking through all the amiable instincts and softer virtues, which are peculiarly ornamental to womankind. Their timorous, gentle, modest behaviour; their affability, meekness, good-breeding, and many other beautiful dispositions

of mind, must be sacrificed to a blind and furious zeal for they do not know what. A man is startled when he sees a pretty bosom heaving with such party-rage, as is disagreeable even in that sex which is of a more coarse and rugged make. And yet such is our misfortune, that we sometimes see a pair of stays ready to burst with sedition; and hear the most masculine passions express in the sweetest voices. I have lately been told of a country-gentlewoman pretty much famed for this virility of behaviour in party-disputes, who, upon venting her notions very freely in a strange place, was carried before an honest justice of peace. This prudent magistrate observing her to be a large black woman, and finding by her discourse that she was no better than a rebel in her riding-hood, began to suspect her for my lord *Nithsdale*; till a stranger came to her rescue, who assured him, with tears in his eyes, that he was her husband.

In the next place, our *British* ladies may consider, that by interesting themselves so zealously in the affairs of the publick, they are engaged without any necessity, in the crimes which are often committed even by the best of parties, and which they are naturally exempted from by the privilege of their sex. The worst character a female could formerly arrive at, was of being an ill woman; but by their present conduct, she may likewise deserve the character of an ill subject. They come in for their share of political guilt, and have found a way to make themselves much greater criminals, than their mothers before them.

I have great hopes that these motives, when they are assisted by their own reflections, will incline the fair ones of the adverse party to come over to the national interest, in which their own is so highly concerned, especially if they consider, that by these superfluous employments which they take upon them as partisans, they do not only dip themselves in an unnecessary guilt, but are obnoxious to a grief and anguish of mind, which doth not properly fall within their lot. And here I advise every one of these exasperated ladies, who indulges that opprobrious eloquence which is so much in fashion,

fashion, to reflect on *Æsop's* fable of the viper. This little animal, says the old moralist, chancing to meet with a file, began to lick it with her tongue till the blood came; which gave her a very silly satisfaction, as imagining the blood came from the file, notwithstanding all the smart was in her own tongue.



N^o 27. Friday, March 23.

— dii Vifa secundant.

LUC.

IT is an old observation, that a time of peace is always a time of prodigies; for as our news-writers must adorn their papers with that which the critics call *The Marvellous*, they are forced, in a dead calm of affairs, to ransack every element for proper amusements, and either to astonish their readers from time to time with a strange and wonderful sight, or to be content to lose their custom. The sea is generally filled with monsters when there are no fleets upon it. Mount *Ætna* immediately began to rage upon the extinction of the rebellion: and woe to the people of *Catanea*, if the peace continues; for they are sure to be shaken every week with earthquakes, till they are relieved by the siege of some other great town in *Europe*. The air has likewise contributed its quota of prodigies. We had a blazing star by the last mail from *Genoa*; and in the present dearth of battles have been very opportunely entertained, by persons of undoubted credit, with a civil war in the clouds, where our sharp-sighted malecontents discovered many objects, invisible to an eye that is dimm'd by *Whig*-principles.

I question not but this paper will fall in with the present humour, since it contains a very remarkable vision of a *Highland* seer, who is famous among the

mountains, and known by the name of *Second-sighted Sawney*. Had he been able to write, we might probably have seen this vision sooner in print; for it happened to him very early in the late hard winter; and is transmitted to me by a student of *Glasgow*, who took the whole relation from him, and stuck close to the facts, though he has delivered them in his own style.

SAWNEY was descended of an ancient family, very much renowned for their skill in prognosticks. Most of his ancestors were second-sighted, and his mother but narrowly escaped being burnt for a witch. As he was going out one morning very early to steal a sheep, he was seized on the sudden with a fit of second-sight. The face of the whole country about him was changed in the twinkling of an eye, and presented him with a wide prospect of new scenes and objects, which he had never seen till that day.

He discovered at a great distance from him a large fabrick, which cast such a glistering light about it, that it looked like a huge rock of diamond. Upon the top of it was planted a standard, streaming in a strong Northern wind, and embroidered with a mixture of thistles and flower-de-luces. As he was amusing himself with this strange sight, he heard a bag-pipe at some distance behind him, and, turning about, saw a general who seemed very much animated with the sound of it, marching towards him at the head of a numerous army. He learnt, upon enquiry, that they were making a procession to the structure which stood before him, and which he found was the *Temple of Rebellion*. He immediately struck in with them; but described this march to the temple with so much horror, that he shivered every joint all the while he spoke of it. They were forced to clamber over so many rocks, and to tread upon the brink of so many precipices, that they were very often in danger of their lives. *Sawney* declared, that for his own part he walked in fear of his neck every step he took. Upon their coming within a few furlongs of the temple, they passed through a very thick grove, consecrated to a deity who was known by the

the name of *Treason*. They here dispersed themselves into abundance of labyrinths and covered walks which led to the temple. The path was so very slippery, the shade so exceeding gloomy, and the whole wood so full of echoes, that they were forced to march with the greatest wariness, circumspection and silence. They at length arrived at a great gate, which was the principal avenue to that magnificent fabrick. *Sarwney* stood some time at the entrance to observe the splendor of the building, and was not a little entertained with a prodigious number of statutes, which were planted up and down in a spacious court that lay before it: but upon examining it more nicely, he found the whole fabrick, which made such a glittering appearance, and seemed impregnable, was composed of ice, and that the several statues which seemed at a distance to be made of the whitest marble, were nothing else but so many figures in snow. The front of the temple was very curiously adorned with stars and garters, ducal coronets, generals staffs, and many other emblems of honour wrought in the most beautiful frost-work. After having stood at gaze some time before this great gate, he discovered on it an inscription, signifying it to be the *Gate of Perjury*. There was erected near it a great colossus in snow that had two faces, and was dressed like a *Jesuit*, with one of its hands upon a book, and the other grasping a dagger. Upon entering into the court, he took a particular survey of several of the figures. There was Sedition with a trumpet in her hand, and Rapine in the garb of a Highlander: Ambition, Envy, Disgrace, Poverty and Disappointment, were all of them represented under their proper emblems. Among other statues, he observed that of Rumour whispering an Idiot in the ear, who was the representative of Credulity; and Faction embracing with her hundred arms an old-fashioned figure in a steeple-crown'd hat, that was designed to express a cunning old gipsy, called Passive-obedience. Zeal too had a place among the rest, with a bandage over her eyes, though one would not have expected to have seen her represented in snow. But the most remarkable object in this court-

yard,

yard, was a huge tree that grew up before the porch of the temple, and was of the same kind with that, which *Virgil* tells us flourished at the entrance of the infernal regions. For it bore nothing but dreams, which hung in clusters under every leaf of it. The travellers refreshed themselves in the shade of this tree before they entered the *Temple of Rebellion*, and after their frights and fatigues, received great comfort in the fruit which fell from it. At length the gates of the temple flew open, and the crowd rushed into it. In the centre of it was a grim Idol, with a sword in the right hand, and a firebrand in the left. The fore-part of the pedestal was curiously embossed with a triumph, while the back-part, that lay more out of sight, was filled with gibbets and axes. This dreadful Idol is worshipped, like several of old, with human sacrifices, and his votaries were consulting among themselves, how to gratify him with hecatombs; when on a sudden they were surprized with the alarm of a great light which appeared in the Southern part of the heavens, and made its progress directly towards them. This light appeared as a great mass of flame, or rather glory, like that of the sun in its strength. There were three figures in the midst of it, who were known by their several hieroglyphicks, to be Religion, Loyalty, and Valour. The last had a graceful air, a blooming countenance, and a star upon its breast, which shot forth several pointed beams of a peculiar lustre. The glory which encompassed them, covered the place, and darted its rays with so much strength, that the whole fabrick and all its ornaments began to melt. The several emblems of honour, which were wrought on the front in the brittle materials above-mentioned, trickled away under the first impressions of the heat. In short, the thaw was so violent, that the temple and statues ran off in a sudden torrent, and the whole winter-piece was dissolved. The covered walks were laid open by the light which shone through every part of them, and the dream-tree withered like the famous gourd, that was smitten by the noon-day sun. As for the votaries, they left the place with the greatest precipitation, and dis-

dispersed themselves by flight into a thousand different paths among the mountains.



Nº 28. Monday, March 26.

Incendia lumen

Præbebant; aliquisq; malo fuit usus in illo. OV. MET.

SIR Francis Bacon, in the dedication before his history of *Henry* the seventh, observes, that peaceable times are the best to live in, though not so proper to furnish materials for a writer: As hilly countries afford the most entertaining prospects, though a man would choose to travail through a plain one. To this we may add, that the times which are full of disorders and tumults, are likewise the fullest of instruction. History indeed furnishes us with very distinct accounts of factions, conspiracies, civil wars and rebellions, with the fatal consequences that attend them: but they do not make such deep and lasting impressions on our minds, as events of the same nature, to which we have ourselves been witnesses, and in which we or our friends and acquaintance have been sufferers. As adversity makes a man wise in his private affairs, civil calamities give him prudence and circumspection in his publick conduct.

The miseries of the civil war under the reign of king *Charles* the first, and the consequences which ensued upon them, did, for many years, deter the inhabitants of our island from the thoughts of engaging anew in such desperate undertakings; and convinced them by fatal experience, that nothing could be so pernicious to the *English*, and so opposite to the genius of the people, as the subversion of monarchy. In the like manner, we may hope that the great expences brought upon the nation by the present rebellion; the sufferings

sufferings of innocent people, who have lived in that place which was the scene of it; with that dreadful prospect of ruin and confusion which must have followed its success; will secure us from the like attempts for the future, and fix his majesty upon the throne of *Great Britain*; especially when those who are prompted to such wicked practices reflect upon the punishments to which the criminals have exposed themselves, and the miseries in which they have involved their relations, friends, and families.

It will be likewise worth their while to consider, how such tumults and riots, as have been encouraged by many, who, we may hope, did not propose to themselves such fatal consequences, lead to a civil war: and how naturally that seditious kind of conversation, which many seem to think consistent with their religion and morality, ends in an open rebellion. I question not but the more virtuous and considerate part of our male-contents are now stung with a very just remorse for this their manner of proceeding, which has so visibly tended to the destruction of their friends, and the sufferings of their country. This may, at the same time, prove an instructive lesson to the boldest and bravest among the disaffected, not to build any hopes upon the talkative zealots of their party; who have shewn by their whole behaviour, that their hearts are equally filled with treason and cowardise. An army of trumpeters would give as great a strength to a cause, as this confederacy of tongue-warriors; who, like those military musicians, content themselves with animating their friends to battle, and run out of the engagement upon the first onset.

But one of the most useful maxims we can learn from the present rebellion, is, that nothing can be more contemptible and insignificant, than the scum of a people, when they are instigated against a king, who is supported by the two branches of the legislature. A mob may pull down a meeting-house, but will never be able to over-turn a government, which has a courageous and wise prince at the head of it, and one who is zealously assisted by the great council of the nation,

that

that best know the value of him. The authority of the lords and commons of *Great Britain*, in conjunction with that of their sovereign, is not to be controuled by a tumultuary rabble. It is big with fleets and armies, can fortify itself with what laws it shall judge proper for its own defence, can command the wealth of the kingdom for the security of the people, and engage the whole Protestant interest of *Europe* in so good and just a cause. A disorderly multitude contending with the body of the legislature, is like a man in a fit under the conduct of one in the fulness of his health and strength. Such a one is sure to be over-ruled in a little time, though he deals about his blows, and exerts himself in the most furious convulsions while the distemper is upon him.

We may farther learn from the course of the present rebellion, who among the foreign states in our neighbourhood are the true and natural friends of *Great Britain*, if we observe which of them give us their assistance in reducing our country to a state of peace and tranquillity, and which of them used their endeavours to heighten our confusions, and plunge us into all the evils of a civil war. I shall only take notice under this head, that in former ages it was the constant policy of *France* to raise and cherish intestine feuds and discords in the isle of *Great Britain*, that we might either fall a prey into their hands, or that they might prosecute their designs upon the continent with less interruption. Innumerable instances of this nature occur in history. The most remarkable one was that in the reign of king *Charles* the first. Though that prince was married to a daughter of *France*, and was personally beloved and esteemed in the *French* court, it is well known that they abetted both parties in the civil war, and always furnished supplies to the weaker side, lest there should be an end put to those fatal divisions.

We might also observe, that this rebellion has been a means of discovering to his majesty, how much he may depend upon the professions and principles of the several parties among his own subjects; who are those persons

persons that have espoused his interests with zeal or indifference; and who among them are influenced to their allegiance by plates, duty, or affection. But as these, and several other considerations, are obvious to the thoughts of every reader, I shall conclude, with observing how naturally many of those, who distinguish themselves by the name of the *High-Church*, unite themselves to the cause of *Papery*; since it is manifest that all the Protestants concerned in the rebellion, were such as gloried in this distinction.

It would be very unjust, to charge all who have ranged themselves under this new denomination, as if they had done it with a design to favour the interests of *Papery*. But it is certain, that many of them, who, at their first setting out, were most averse to the doctrines of the church of *Rome*, have, by the cunning of our adversaries, been inspired with such an unreasonable aversion to their Protestant brethren, and taught to think so favourably of the *Roman-Catholic* principles; (not to mention the endeavours that have been used to reconcile the doctrines of the two churches, which are in themselves as opposite as light and darkness) that they have been drawn over insensibly into its interests. It is no wonder, therefore, that so many of these deluded zealots have been engaged in a cause which they at first abhorred, and have wished or acted for the success of an enterprize, that might have ended in the extirpation of the Protestant religion in this kingdom, and in all *Europe*. In short, they are like the *Syrians*, who were first smitten with blindness, and unknowingly led out of their way into the capital of their enemy's country; insomuch that the text tells us, *When they opened their eyes, they found themselves in the midst of Samaria.*



Friday,



No 29. Friday, March 30. 1716.

Dis te, minorem quoddam generis, imperas.

Hinc omne principium, huc refer exitum.

Di multa neglecti dederunt

Hesperiae mala luctuosae.

HOR.

THIS being a day in which the thoughts of our countrymen are, or ought to be employed on serious subjects, I shall take the opportunity of that disposition of mind in my readers, to recommend to them the practice of those religious and moral virtues, without which all policy is vain, and the best cause deprived of its greatest ornament and support.

Common sense as well as the experience of all ages, teaches us, that no government can flourish which doth not encourage and propagate religion and morality among all its particular members. It was an observation of the ancient *Romans*, that their empire had not more increased by the strength of their arms, than by the sanctity of their manners: And *Cicero*, who seems to have been better versed than any of them, both in the theory and the practice of politicks, makes it a doubt whether it were possible for a community to exist that had not a prevailing mixture of piety in its constitution. Justice, temperance, humility, and almost every other moral virtue, do not only derive the blessings of providence upon those who exercise them, but are the natural means for acquiring the publick prosperity. Besides; religious motives and instincts are so busy in the heart of every reasonable creature, that a man who would hope to govern a society without any regard to these principles, is as much to be condemned for his folly, as to be detested for his impiety.

To this we may add, that the world is never sunk into such a state of degeneracy, but they pay a natural
vene-

veneration to men of virtue ; and rejoice to see themselves conducted by those, who act under the awe of a supreme Being, and who think themselves accountable for their proceedings to the great Judge and Superintendent of human affairs.

Those of our fellow-subjects, who are sensible of the happiness they enjoy in his majesty's accession to the throne, are obliged, by all the duties of gratitude, to adore that providence which has so signally interposed in our behalf, by clearing a way to the Protestant succession through such difficulties as seemed insuperable ; by detecting the conspiracies which have been formed against it ; and, by many wonderful events, weakening the hands, and baffling the attempts of all his majesty's enemies, both foreign and domestick.

The party, who distinguish themselves by their zeal for the present establishment, should be careful, in a particular manner, to discover in their whole conduct such a reverence for religion, as may shew how groundless that reproach is which is cast upon them by their enemies, of being averse to our national worship. While others engross to themselves the name of *The Church*, and, in a manner, excommunicate the best part of their fellow-subjects ; let us shew ourselves the genuine sons of it, by practising the doctrines which it teaches. The advantage will be visibly on our side, if we stick to its essentials ; while they triumph in that empty denomination which they bestow upon themselves. Too many of them are already dipt in the guilt of perjury and sedition ; and as we remain unblemished in these particulars, let us endeavour to excel them in all the other parts of religion, and we shall quickly find, that a regular morality is, in its own nature, more popular, as well as more meritorious, than an intemperate zeal.

We have likewise in the present times of confusion and disorder, an opportunity of shewing our abhorrence of several principles which have been ascribed to us by the malice of our enemies. A disaffection to kings and kingly government, with a proneness to rebellion, have been often very unjustly charged on that party

party which goes by the name of *Whigs*. Our steady and continued adherence to his majesty and the present happy settlement, will the most effectually confute this calumny. Our adversaries, who know very well how odious commonwealth-principles are to the *English* nation, have inverted the very sense of words and things, rather than not continue to brand us with this imaginary guilt: for with some of these men, at present, loyalty to our king is republicanisim, and rebellion passive-obedience.

It has been an old objection to the principles of the *Whigs*, that several of their leaders, who have been zealous for redressing the grievances of government, have not behaved themselves better than the *Tories* in domestick scenes of life: but at the same time have been publick patriots and private oppressors. This objection, were it true, has no weight in it, since the misbehaviour of particular persons does not at all affect their cause, and since a man may act laudably in some respects who does not so in others. However, it were to be wished, that men would not give occasion even to such invectives; but at the same time they consult the happiness of the whole, that they would promote it to their utmost in all their private dealings among those who lie more immediately within their influence. In the mean while I must observe, that this reproach, which may be often met with both in print and conversation, tends in reality to the honour of the *Whigs*, as it supposes that a greater regard to justice and humanity is to be expected from them than from those of the opposite party: and it is certain we cannot better recommend our principles, than by such actions as are their natural and genuine fruits.

Were we thus careful to guard ourselves in a particular manner against these groundless imputations of our enemies, and to rise above them as much in our morality as in our politicks, our cause would be always as flourishing as it is just. It is certain, that our notions have a more natural tendency to such a practice, as we espouse the Protestant interest in opposition to that of Popery, which is so far from advancing

vancing morality by its doctrines, that it has weakened, or entirely subverted, many of the duties even of natural religion.

I shall conclude, with recommending one virtue more to the friends of the present establishment, wherein the *Whigs* have been remarkably deficient; which is a general unanimity and concurrence in the pursuit of such measures as are necessary for the well-being of their country. As it is a laudable freedom of thought which unshakles their minds from the poor and narrow prejudices of education, and opens their eyes to a more extensive view of the publick good; the same freedom of thought disposes several of them to the embracing of particular schemes and maxims, and to a certain singularity of opinion which proves highly prejudicial to their cause; especially when they are encouraged in them by a vain breath of popularity, or by the artificial praises which are bestowed on them by the opposite party. This temper of mind, though the effect of a noble principle, very often betrays their friends, and brings into power the most pernicious and implacable of their enemies. In cases of this nature, it is the duty of an honest and prudent man, to sacrifice a doubtful opinion to the concurring judgment of those whom he believes to be well-intentioned to their country, and who have better opportunities of looking into all its most complicated interests. An honest party of men acting with unanimity, are of infinitely greater consequence than the same party aiming at the same end by different views: as a large diamond is of a thousand times greater value while it remains entire, than when it is cut into a multitude of smaller stones, notwithstanding they may each of them, be very curiously set, and are all of the same water.

Monday,



Nº 30. Monday, April 2.

----- *I, verbis virtutem illude superbis.* VIRG.

AS I was some years ago engaged in conversation with a fashionable *French Abbé* upon a subject which the people of that kingdom love to start in discourse, the comparative greatness of the two nations; he asked me, *How many souls I thought there might be in London?* I replied, being willing to do my country all the honour I fairly could, that there were several who computed them at near a million: but not finding that surprize I expected in his countenance, I returned the question upon him, *How many he thought there might be in Paris?* To which he answered, with a certain grimace of coldness and indifference, *About ten or twelve millions.*

It would, indeed, be incredible to a man who has never been in *France*, should one relate the extravagant notion they entertain of themselves, and the mean opinion they have of their neighbours. There are certainly (notwithstanding the visible decay of learning and taste which has appeared among them of late years) many particular persons in that country, who are eminent in the highest degree for their good sense, as well as for their knowledge in all the arts and sciences. But I believe every one, who is acquainted with them, will allow, that the people in general fall far short of those, who border upon them, in strength and solidity of understanding. One would therefore no more wonder to see the most shallow nation of *Europe* the most vain, than to find the most empty fellows in every distinct nation more conceited and censorious than the rest of their countrymen. Prejudice and self-sufficiency naturally proceed from inexperience of the world, and

ignorance of mankind. As it requires but very small abilities to discover the imperfections of another, we find that none are more apt to turn their neighbours into ridicule, than those who are the most ridiculous in their own private conduct.

Those among the *French*, who have seen nothing but their own country, can scarce bring themselves to believe, that a nation, which lies never so little North of them, is not full of *Goths* and *Vandals*. Nay those among them who travel into foreign parts are so prejudiced in favour of their own imaginary politeness, that they are apt to look upon every thing as barbarous in proportion as it deviates from what they find at home. No less a man than an ambassador of *France*, being in conversation with our king of glorious memory, and willing to encourage his majesty, told him, that he talked like a *Frenchman*. The king smiled at the encomium which was given him, and only replied, *Sir, I am sure you do*. An eminent writer of the last age was so offended at this kind of insolence, which shewed itself very plentifully in one of their travellers who gave an account of *England*, that he vindicated the honour of his country in a book full of just satire and ingenuity. I need not acquaint my reader, that I mean bishop *Sprat's* answer to *Sorbiere*.

Since I am upon this head, I cannot forbear mentioning some profound remarks that I have been lately shewn in a *French* book, the author of which lived, it seems, some time in *England*. The English, says this curious traveller, *very much delight in Pudding*. This is the favourite dish not only of the clergy, but of the people in general. Provided there be a Pudding upon the table, no matter what are the other dishes; they are sure to make a feast. They think themselves so happy when they have a Pudding before them, that if any one would tell a friend he is arrived in a lucky juncture, the ordinary salutation is, *Sir, I am glad to see you, you are come in Pudding-time*.

One cannot have the heart to be angry at this judicious observer, notwithstanding he has treated us like a race of *Hottentots*, because he only taxes us with our in-

inordinante love of pudding, which, it must be confessed, is not so elegant a dish as frog and sallat. Every one who has been at *Paris*, knows that *Un gros Milord Anglois* is a frequent jest upon the *French* stage; as if corpulence was a proper subject for satire, or a man of honour could help his being fat, who eats suitable to his quality.

It would be endless to recount the invectives which are to be met with among the *French* historians, and even in *Mezeray* himself against the manners of our countrymen. Their authors in other kinds of writing are likewise very liberal in characters of the same nature. I cannot forbear mentioning the learned *Monsieur Patin* in particular; who tells us in so many words, *That the English are a people, whom he naturally abhors*: And in another place, *That he looks upon the English among the several nations of men, as he does upon wolves among the several species of beasts*. A *British* writer would be very justly charged with want of politeness, who, in return to this civility, should look upon the *French* as that part of mankind which answers to a species in the brute creation, whom we call in *English* by the name of monks.

If the *French* load us with these indignities, we may observe, for our comfort, that they give the rest of their borderers no better quarter. If we are a dull, heavy, phlegmatick people, we are it seems no worse than our neighbours. As an instance, I shall set down at large a remarkable passage in a famous book intituled *Chevræana*, written many years ago by the celebrated *Monsieur Chevreau*; after having advertised my reader that the dutchess of *Hanover*, and the princess *Elizabeth* of *Bohemia*, who are mentioned in it, were the late excellent princess *Sophia* and her sister.

Tilenus pour un *Allemand*, parle et écrit bien *François*, dit *Scaliger*: *Gretzer* a bien de l'esprit pour un *Allemand*, dit le *Cardinal du Perron*; Et le *P. Bouhours* met en question, Si un *Allemand* peut être bel esprit? On ne doit juger ni bien ni mal d'une nation par un particulier, ni d'un particulier par sa nation. Il y a des *Allemands*, comme des *François*, qui n'ont point d'esprit;

des Allemands, qui ont sçu plus d'Hebreu, plus de Grec, que Scaliger et le Cardinal du Perron: J'honore fort le P. Bouhours, qui a du merite; mais J'ose dire, que la France n'a point de plus bel Esprit que madame la duchesse de Hanovre d'aujourd'hui, ni de personne plus solidement savante en philosophie que l'étoit madame la princesse Elizabeth de Boheme, sa Soeur: Et je ne crois pas que l'on refuse le même titre à beaucoup d'academiciens d'Allemagne dont les ouvrages meriteroient bien d'être traduits. Il y a d'autres princesses en Allemagne, qui ont infiniment de l'esprit. Les François disent c'est un Allemand, pour exprimer un homme pesant, brutal: Et les Allemands comme les Italiens, c'est un François, pour dire un fou et un etourdi. C'est aller trop loin: comme le prince de Salé dit de Ruyter, Il est honnête homme, c'est bien dommage qu'il soit Chrétien. Chevræana, Tom. I.

'Tilenus, says Scaliger, speaks and writes well for a German. Gretzer has a great deal of wit for a German, says cardinal Perron. And father Bouhours makes it a question, Whether a German can be a wit? One ought not to judge well or ill of a nation from a particular person, nor of a particular person from his nation. There are Germans, as there are French, who have no wit; and Germans who are better skilled in Greek and Hebrew than either Scaliger or the cardinal du Perron. I have a great honour for father Bouhours, who is a man of merit; but will be bold to say, that there is not in all France, a person of more wit than the present dutchess of Hanover; nor more thoroughly knowing in philosophy, than was the late princess Elizabeth of Bohemia her sister; and I believe none can refuse the same title to many academicians in Germany, whose works very well deserve to be translated into our tongue. There are other princesses in Germany, who have also an infinite deal of wit. The French say of a man, that he is a German, when they would signify that he is dull and heavy: and the Germans, as well as the Italians, when they would call a man, a hair-brain'd coxcomb, say he is a French man. This is going too far, and

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' is like the governor of Sally's saying of *De Ruyter*
' the *Dutch* admiral, *He's an honest man, 'tis great pity*
' *he is a Christian.*'

Having already run my paper out to its usual length, I have not room for many reflections on that which is the subject of it. The last cited author has been beforehand with me in its proper moral. I shall only add to it, that there has been an unaccountable disposition among the *English* of late years, to fetch the fashion from the *French*, not only in their dress and behaviour, but even in their judgment and opinions of mankind. It will however be reasonable for us, if we concur with them in their contempt of other neighbouring nations, that we should likewise regard ourselves under the same view in which they are wont to place us. The representations they make of us, are as of a nation the least favoured by them; and, as these are agreeable to the natural aversion they have for us, are more disadvantageous than the pictures they have drawn of any other people in *Europe*.



N^o 31. Friday, April 6.

Omnes homines, P. C. qui de rebus dubiis consultant, ab odio, amicitia, ira, atque misericordia vacuos esse decet.

CAESAR AP. SALLUST.

I HAVE purposely avoided, during the whole course of this paper, to speak any thing concerning the treatment which is due to such persons as have been concerned in the late rebellion, because I would not seem to irritate justice against those who are under the prosecution of the law, nor incense any of my readers against unhappy though guilty men. But when we find the proceedings of our government in this particular traduced and misrepresented, it is the duty of every good subject to set them in their proper light.

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I am the more prompted to this undertaking by a pamphlet intituled, *An argument to prove the affections of the people of England to be the best security of the government; humbly offered to the consideration of the patrons of severity, and applied to the present juncture of affairs.* Had the whole scope of the author been answerable to his title, he would have only undertaken to prove what every man in his wits is already convinced of. But the drift of the pamphlet is to stir up our compassion towards the rebels, and our indignation against the government. The author, who knew that such a design as this, could not be carried on without a great deal of artifice and sophistry, has puzzled and perplexed his cause, by throwing his thoughts together in such a studied confusion, that upon this account, if upon any, his pamphlet is, as the party have represented it, unanswerable.

The famous Monsieur Bayle compares the answering of an immethodical author to the hunting of a duck: when you have him full in your sight, and fancy yourself within reach of him, he gives you the slip, and becomes invisible. His argument is lost in such a variety of matter, that you must catch it where you can, as it rises and disappears in the several parts of his discourse.

The writer of this pamphlet could, doubtless, have ranged his thoughts in much better order, if he had pleased: but he knew very well, that error is not to be advanced by perspicuity. In order therefore to answer this pamphlet, I must reduce the substance of it under proper heads; and disembroil the thoughts of the author, since he did not think fit to do it himself.

In the first place I shall observe, that the terms which the author makes use of are loose, general, and undefined, as will be shewn in the sequel of this paper; and what less becomes a fair reasoner, he puts wrong and invidious names on every thing to colour a false way of arguing. He allows that *the rebels indisputably merit to be severely chastised; that they deserve it according to law; and that if they are punished they have none to thank but themselves,* (p. 7.) How can a man after
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such a concession make use sometimes of the word *cruelty*, but generally of *revenge*, when he pleads against the exercise of what, according to his own notion, is at the most but rigid justice ! Or why are such executions, which, according to his own opinion, are legal, so often to be called *violence* and *slaughter* ? Not to mention the appellations given to those who do not agree with him in his opinion for clemency, as the *blood-thirsty*, the *political butchers*, *state surgeons*, and the like.

But I shall now speak of that point, which is the great and reigning fallacy of the pamphlet, and runs more or less through every paragraph. His whole argument turns upon this single consideration ; whether the king should exert mercy or justice towards those who have openly appeared in the present rebellion ? By mercy he means a general pardon, by justice a general punishment : so that he supposes no other method practicable in this juncture, than either the forgiving all or the executing all. Thus he puts the question, *Whether it be the interest of the prince to destroy the rebels by fire, sword, or gibbet ?* (p. 4.) And speaking of the zealots for the government, he tells us, *they think no remedy so good, as to make clear work ; and that they declare for the utter extirpation of all who are its enemies in the most minute circumstance : as if amputation were the sole remedy these political butchers could find out for the distempers of a state ; or that they thought the only way to make the top flourish, were to lop off the under branches,* (p. 5.) He then speaks of the *coffee-house politicians*, and the *casuists in red-coats* ; *Who*, he tells us, *are for the utmost rigour that their laws of war or laws of convenience can inspire them with,* (p. 5.) Again, it is represented, says he, *that the rebels deserve the highest punishment the laws can inflict,* (p. 7.) And afterwards tells us, *The question is, Whether the government shall shew mercy, or take a reverend divine's advice, to slay man and woman, infant and suckling ?* (p. 8.) Thus again he tells us, *The friends to severe counsels alledge, that the government ought not to be moved by compassion ; and that the law should have its course,* (p. 9.) And

And in another place puts these words in their mouths, *He may still retain their affection, and yet let the laws have their course in punishing the guilty*, (p. 18.) He goes upon the same supposition in the following passages; *It is impracticable in so general a corruption, to destroy all who are infected; and unless you destroy all, you do nothing to the purpose*, (p. 10.) *Shall our rightful king shew himself less the true father of his people, and afford his pardon to none of those people, who (like king Lear to his daughters) had so great a confidence in his virtue as to give him all?* (p. 25.) I shall only add, that the concluding paragraph, which is work'd up with so much artificial horror, goes upon a supposition answerable to the whole tenor of the pamphlet; and implies, that *the impeached lords* were to be executed without exception or discrimination.

Thus we see what is the author's idea of that justice against which all his arguments are levelled. If, in the next place, we consider the nature of that clemency which he recommends, we find it to be no less universal and unrestrained.

He declares for a *general act of indemnity*, (p. 20.) and tells us, *It is the sense of every dispassionate man of the kingdom, that the rebels may and ought to be pardoned*, (p. 19.) *One popular act*, says he, *would even yet retrieve all*, (p. 21.) He declares himself not over-fond of the doctrines of making examples of traitors, (ibid.) And that *the way to prevent things from being brought to an extremity, is to deal mildly with those unfortunate gentleman engaged in the rebellion*.

The reader may now see in how fallacious a manner this writer has stated the controversy: he supposes there are but two methods of treating the rebels: that is, by cutting off every one of them to a man, or pardoning every one of them without distinction. Now if there be a third method between these two extremes, which is on all accounts more eligible than either of them, it is certain that the whole course of his argumentation comes to nothing. Every man of the plainest understanding will easily conclude, that in the case before us, as in most others, we ought to avoid both

extreams:

extreams: That to destroy every rebel would be an excessive severity, and to forgive every one of them an unreasonable weakness. The proper method of proceeding, is that which the author has purposely omitted; namely to temper justice with mercy; and, according to the different circumstances that aggravate or alleviate the guilt of the offenders, to restrain the force of the laws, or to let them take their proper course. Punishments are necessary to shew there is justice in a government, and pardons to shew there is mercy; and both together convince the people, that our constitution, under a good administration, does not only make a difference between the guilty and the innocent, but even among the guilty between such as are more or less criminal.

This middle method, which has been always practised by wise and good governors, has hitherto been made use of by our sovereign. If, indeed, a stranger, and one who is altogether unacquainted with his majesty's conduct, should read this pamphlet, he would conclude that every person engaged in the rebellion was to die *by the sword, the halter, or the axe*; nay, that their friends and abettors were involved in the same fate. Would it be possible for him to imagine, that of the several thousands openly taken in arms, and liable to death by the laws of their country, not above forty have yet suffered? How would he be surprized to hear, that, notwithstanding his majesty's troops have been victorious in every engagement, more of his friends have lost their lives in this rebellion, than of his traitorous subjects; though we add to those who have died by the hand of justice those of them who fell in battle? And yet we find a more popular compassion endeavoured to be raised for the deaths of the guilty, who have brought such calamities on their country, than for the innocent who perished in the defence of it.

This middle method of proceeding, which has been pursued by his majesty, and is wilfully overlooked by the author, best answers the ends of government; which is to maintain the safety of the publick by rewards and punishments. It is also incumbent on a governor, according

according to the received dictates of religion; which instructs us, *That he beareth not the sword in vain; but ought to be a terror to evil-doers, and a praise to them that do well.* It is likewise in a particular manner the duty of a *British* king, who obliges himself by his coronation-oath to execute *justice in mercy*, that is, to mix them in his administration, and not to exercise either of them to the total exclusion of the other.

But if we consider the arguments which this author gives for clemency, from the good effects it would produce, we shall find, that they hold true only when applied to such a mercy as serves rather to mitigate than exclude justice. The excellence of that unlimited clemency which the author contends for, is recommended by the following arguments.

First, That it endears a prince to his people. This he descants on in several parts of his book. *Clemency will endear his person to the nation; and then they will neither have the power nor will to disturb him,* (p. 8.) *Was there ever a cruel prince, that was not hated by his subjects?* (p. 42.) *A merciful good-natur'd disposition is of all others the most amiable quality, and in princes always attended with a popular love,* (p. 18.)

It is certain, that such a popular love will always rise towards a good prince, who exercises such a mercy as I have before described, which is consistent with the safety of the constitution, and the good of his kingdom. But if it be thrown away at random, it loses its virtue, lessens the esteem and authority of a prince, and cannot long recommend him, even to the weakest of his subjects, who will find all the effects of cruelty in such an ill grounded compassion. It was a famous saying of *William Rufus*, and is quoted to his honour by historians: "Whosoever spares perjured men, robbers, plunderers, and traitors, deprives all good men of their peace and quietness, and lays a foundation of innumerable mischiefs to the virtuous and innocent."

Another argument for unlimited clemency, is, That it shews a courageous temper: *Clemency is likewise an argument of fearlessness; whereas cruelty not only betrays a weak, abject, depraved spirit; but also is for*
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the most part a certain sign of cowardise, (p. 19.)—
He had a truly great soul, and such will always disdain
the coward's virtue, which is fear; and the consequence
of it which is revenge, (p. 27.) This panegyrick on
 clemency, when it is governed by reason, is likewise
 very right; but it may so happen, that the putting of
 laws in execution against traitors to their country may
 be the argument of fearlessness, when our governors
 are told that they dare not do it; and such methods
 may be made use of to extort pardons, as would make
 it look like cowardise to grant them. In this last case
 the author should have remembered his own words, *that*
then only mercy is meritorious when it is voluntary,
not extorted by the necessity of affairs, (p. 13.) Besides,
 the author should have considered that another argu-
 ment which he makes use of for his clemency, are the
 resentments that may arise from the execution of a re-
 bel: An argument adapted to a cowardly, not a fearless
 temper. This he infers from the disposition of *the friends*
well-wishers, or associates of the sufferers, (p. 4.) *Re-*
sentments will inflame some: in others compassion will
by degrees, arise into resentment. This will naturally
beget a disposition to overturn what they dislike, and
then there will want only a fair opportunity, (p. 11.)
 This argument, like most of the others, pleads equally
 for malefactors of all kinds, whom the government can
 never bring to justice, without disobliging their friends,
 well-wishers, or associates. But, I believe, if the au-
 thor would converse with any friend, well-wisher, or
 associate of these sufferers, he would find them rather
 deterred from their practices by their sufferings, than
 disposed to rise in a new rebellion to revenge them. A
 government must be in a very weak and melancholy
 condition, that is not armed with a sufficient power for
 its own defence against the resentment of its enemies,
 and is afraid of being overturned if it does justice on
 those who attempt it. But I am afraid the main rea-
 son why these friends, well-wishers and associates, are
 against punishing any of the rebels, is that which must
 be an argument with every wise governor for doing
 justice upon some of them; namely, that it is a likely

means to come at the bottom of this conspiracy, and to detect those who have been the private abettors of it, and who are still at work in the same design, if we give credit to the suggestions of our malecontents themselves, who labour to make us believe that there is still life in this wicked project.

I am wonderfully surprized to see another argument made use of for a general pardon, which might have been urged more properly for a general execution. The words are these; *The generality will never be brought to believe, but that those who suffer only for treason have very hard measure, nor can you with all your severity undeceive them of their error.* If the generality of the *English* have such a favourable opinion of treason, nothing can cure them of an error so fatal to their country as the punishment of those who are guilty of it. It is evident, that a general impunity would confirm them in such an opinion: for the vulgar will never be brought to believe, that there is a crime where they see no penalty. As it is certain no error can be more destructive to the very being of government than this, a proper remedy ought to be applied to it: And I would ask this author, Whether upon this occasion, *the doctrine of making examples of traitors* be not very seasonable; though he declares himself *not over-sfond of it.* The way to awaken mens minds to the sense of this guilt, is to let them see by the sufferings of some who have incurred it, how heinous a crime it is in the eye of the law.

The foregoing answer may be applied likewise to another argument of the same nature. *If the faction be as numerous as is pretended; if the spirit has spread itself over the whole kingdom; if it has mixed with the mass of the people; then certainly all bloody measures will but whet men the more for revenge.* If justice inflicted on a few of the most flagrant criminals, with mercy extended to the multitude, may be called *bloody measures*, they are without doubt absolutely necessary, in case the spirit of faction be thus spread among the mass of the people; who will readily conclude, that if open rebellion goes unpunished, every degree of
faction

faction which leads to it must be altogether innocent.

I am come now to another argument for pardoning all the rebels, which is, that it would inspire them all with gratitude, and reduce them to their allegiance. *It is truly heroick to overcome the hearts of one's enemies; and when it is compassed, the undertaking is truly politick,* (p. 8.) *He has now a fair opportunity of conquering more enemies by one act of clemency, than the most successful general will be able to do in many campaigns!* (p. 9.) *Are there not infinite numbers who would become most dutiful upon any fair invitation, upon the least appearance of grace?* (p. 13.) *Which of the rebels could be ungrateful enough to resist or abuse goodness exemplified in practice, as well as extolled in theory?* (p. 29.) Has not his majesty than shewn the least appearance of grace in that generous forgiveness which he has already extended to such great numbers of his rebellious subjects, who must have died by the laws of their country, had not his mercy interposed in their behalf? But if the author means (as he doth, through this whole pamphlet by the like expressions) an universal forgiveness, no unprejudiced man can be of his opinion, that it would have had this good effect. We may see how little the conversion of rebels is to be depended on, when we observe that several of the leaders in this rebellion were men who had been pardoned for practices of the same nature: and that most of those who have suffered, have avowed their perseverance in their rebellious principles, when they spoke their minds at the place of execution, notwithstanding their professions to the contrary while they solicited forgiveness. Besides, were pardon extended indifferently to all, which of them would think himself under any particular obligation? Whereas by that prudent discrimination which his majesty has made between the offenders of different degrees, he naturally obliges those whom he has considered with so much tenderness, and distinguished as the most proper objects of mercy. In short, those who are pardoned would not have known the value of grace, if none had felt the effects of justice.

I must not omit another reason which the author makes use of against punishments; *Because*, he says, *those very means, or the apprehensions of them, have brought things to the pass in which they are, and consequently will reduce them from bad to worse*, (p. 10.) And afterwards, *The growth of disaffection is in a great measure owing to the groundless jealousies men entertained of the present administration, as if they were to expect nothing but cruelty under it*. If our author would have spoken out, and have applied these effects to the real cause, he could ascribe this change of affections among the people to nothing else but the change of the ministry: For we find that a great many persons lost their loyalty with their places; and that their friends have ever since made use of the most base methods to infuse those groundless discontents into the minds of the common people, which have brought so many of them to the brink of destruction, and proved so detrimental to their fellow-subjects. However, this proceeding has shewn how dangerous it would have been for his majesty to have continued in their places of trust a set of men, some of whom have since actually joined with the pretender to his crown: While others may be justly suspected never to have been faithful to him in their hearts, or, at least, whose principles are precarious, and visibly conducted by their interest. In a word, if the removal of these persons from their posts has produced such popular commotions, the continuance of them might have produced something much more fatal to their king and country, and have brought about that revolution, which has now been in vain attempted. The condition of a *British* king would be very poor indeed, should a party of his subjects threaten him with a rebellion upon his bringing malefactors to justice, or upon his refusing to employ those whom he dares not trust.

I shall only mention another argument against the punishment of any of the rebels; whose executions he represents as very shocking to the people because they are their *Countrymen*, (p. 12.) And again, *The quality of the sufferers, their alliances, their characters, their*
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being Englishmen, with a thousand other circumstances, will contribute to breed more ill blood than all the state-chirurgeons can possibly let out, (p. 12.) The impeached lords likewise, in the last paragraph of the pamphlet, are recommended to our pity, because they are our Countrymen. By this way of reasoning, no man that is a gentleman, or born within the three seas, should be subject to capital punishment. Besides, who can be guilty of rebellion that are not our Countrymen? As for the endearing name of *Englishman*, which he bestows upon every one of the *Criminals*, he should consider, that a man deservedly cuts himself off from the affections as well as the privileges of that community, which he endeavours to subvert.

These are the several arguments which appear in different forms and expressions through this whole pamphlet, and under which every one that is urged in it may be reduced. There is indeed another set of them, derived from the example and authority of great persons, which the author produces in favour of his own scheme. These are *William the Conqueror*, *Henry IV. of France*, our late king *William*, king *Solomon*, and the *Pretender*. If a man were disposed to draw arguments for severity out of history, how many instances might one find of it among the greatest princes of every nation? But as different princes may act very laudably by different methods in different conjunctures, I cannot think this a conclusive way of reasoning. However, let us examine this set of arguments, and we shall find them no less defective than those above-mentioned.

One of the greatest of our English Monarchs, says our author, was *William the Conqueror*; and he was the greater, because he put to death only one person of quality that we read of, and him after repeated treacheries; yet he was a foreigner, had power sufficient, and did not want provocations to have been more bloody, (p. 27.) This person of quality was the earl *Waltheof*, who being overtaken with wine, engaged in a conspiracy against this monarch, but repenting of it the next morning, repaired to the king who was then in *Normandy*,
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and discovered the whole matter, notwithstanding which he was beheaded upon the defeat of the conspiracy, for having but thus far tampered in it. And as for the rest of the conspirators, who rose in an actual rebellion, the king used them with the utmost rigour, he cut off the hands of some, put out the eyes of others, some were hanged upon gibbets, and those who fared the best were sent into banishment. There are, indeed, the most dreadful examples of severity in this reign: though it must be confessed, that, after the manner of those times the nobility generally escaped with their lives, though multitudes of them were punished with banishment, perpetual imprisonment, forfeitures, and other great severities: While the poor people, who had been deluded by these their ringleaders, were executed with the utmost rigour. A partiality which I believe no commoner of *England* will ever think to be either just or reasonable.

The next instance is *Henry IV. of France*, who (says our author) so handsomely expressed his tenderness for his people, when, at signing the treaty of *Vervins*, he said, that by one dash of his pen he had overcome more enemies, than he could ever be able to do with his sword. Would not an ordinary reader think that this treaty of *Vervins* was a treaty between *Henry IV.* and a party of his subjects? For otherwise how can it have a place in the present argument? But instead of that it was a treaty between *France* and *Spain*; so that the speech expressed an equal tenderness to the *Spaniards* and *French*; as multitudes of either nation must have fallen in that war, had it continued longer. As for this king's treatment of conspirators, (though he is quoted thrice in the pamphlet as an example of clemency) you have an eminent instance of it in his behaviour to the *Mareschal de Biron*, who had been his old faithful servant, and had contributed more than any one to his advancement to the throne. This *Mareschal* upon some discontent, was entered into a conspiracy against his master, and refusing to open the whole secret to the king, he was sent to the *Bastille*, and there beheaded, notwithstanding he sought for mercy with great importunities, and

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in the most moving manner. There are other instances in this king's reign, who notwithstanding was remarkable for his clemency, of rebels and conspirators who were hanged, beheaded, or broken alive on the wheel.

The late king *William* was not disturbed by any rebellion from those who had once submitted to him. But we know he treated the persons concerned in the assassination-plot as so horrid a conspiracy deserved. As for the saying which this author imputes to that monarch, it being a piece of secret history, one doth not know when it was spoken, or what it alluded to, unless the author had been more particular in the account of it.

The author proceeds in the next place to no less an authority, than that of *Solomon*: *Among all the general observations of the wisest princes we know of, I think there is none holds more universally than mercy and truth preserve a king, and his throne is established in mercy,* (p. 18.) If we compare the different sayings of this wise king, which relate to the conduct of princes, we cannot question but that he means by this mercy, that kind of it, which is consistent with reason and government, and by which we hope to see his majesty's throne established. But our author should consider that the same wise man has said in another place, that "An evil man seeketh rebellion, therefore a cruel messenger shall be sent against him." Accordingly his practice was agreeable to his proverb: no prince having ever given a greater testimony of his abhorrence to undertakings of this treasonable nature. For he dispatched such a cruel messenger as is here mentioned to those who had been engaged in a rebellion many years before he himself was on the throne, and even to his elder brother, upon the bare suspicion that he was projecting so wicked an enterprize.

How the example of the pretender came into this argument, I am at a loss to find out. *The pretender declared a general pardon to all: And shall our rightful king shew himself less the true father of his people, and afford his pardon to none, &c.* (p. 25.) The pretender's

der's general pardon was to a people who were not in his power ; and had he ever reduced them under it, it was only promised to such as immediately joined with him for the recovery of what he called his right. It was such a general pardon as would have been consistent with the execution of more than nine parts in ten of the kingdom.

There is but one more historical argument which is drawn from king *Philip's* treatment of the *Catalans*. I think it would not be unseasonable for some men to recollect what their own notions were of the treatment of the *Catalans* ; how many declamations were made on the barbarity used towards them by king *Philip*, &c. (p. 29.) If the author remembers, these declamations, as he calls them, were not made so much on the barbarity used towards them by king *Philip*, as on the barbarity used towards them by the *English* government. King *Philip* might have some colour for treating them as rebels, but we ought to have regarded them as allies ; and were obliged by all the ties of honour, conscience, and publick faith, to have sheltered them from those sufferings, which were brought upon them by a firm and inviolable adherence to our interest. However, none can draw into a parallel, the cruelties which have been inflicted on that unhappy people, with those few instances of severity which our government has been obliged to exert towards the *British* rebels. I say no man would make such a parallel, unless his mind be so blinded with passion and prejudice, as to assert, in the language of this pamphlet, *That no instances can be produced of the least lenity under the present administration from the first hour it commenced to this day*, (p. 20.) with other astonishing reflections of the same nature, which are contradicted by such innumerable matters of fact, that it would be an affront to a reader's understanding to endeavour to confute them. But to return to the *Catalans* ; During the whole course of the war, says the author, which ever of them submitted to discretion, were received to mercy, (p. 22.) This is so far from being truly related, that in the beginning of the war they were executed without mercy. But when,

when, in conjunction with their allies, they became superior to king *Philip's* party in strength, and extended their conquests up to the very gates of *Madrid* it cannot be supposed the *Spanish* court would be so infatuated as to persist in their first severities, against an enemy that could make such terrible reprisals. However, when this reason of state ceased, how dreadful was the havock made among this brave but unhappy people ! The whole kingdom without any distinction to the many thousands of its innocent inhabitants, was stripped of its immunities, and reduced to a state of slavery. *Barcelona* was filled with executions ; and all the patriots of their ancient liberties either beheaded, stowed in dungeons, or condemned to work in the mines of *America*.

God be thanked we have a king who punishes with reluctance, and is averse to such cruelties as were used among the *Catalans*, as much as to those practised on the persons concerned in *Monmouth's* rebellion. Our author indeed condemns these *Western* assizes in king *James's* reign, (p. 26.) And it would be well if all those who still adhere to the cause of that unfortunate king, and are clamorous at the proceedings of his present majesty, would remember, that notwithstanding that rebellion fell very much short of this both in the number and strength of the rebels, and had no tendency either to destroy the national religion, to introduce an arbitrary government, or to subject us to a foreign power ; not only the chief of the rebels was beheaded, but even a lady, who had only harboured one of the offenders in her house, was in her extreme old age put to the same kind of death : That about two hundred and thirty were hanged, drawn and quatered, and their limbs dispersed through several parts of the country, and set up as spectacles of terror to their fellow-subjects. It would be too tedious a work to run through the numberless fines, imprisonments, corporal punishments, and transportations, which were then likewise practised as wholesome severities.

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We have now seen how fallaciously the author has stated the cause he has undertaken, by supposing that nothing but unlimited mercy, or unlimited punishment, are the methods that can be made use of in our present treatment of the rebels. That he has omitted the middle way of proceeding between these two extremes: That this middle way is the method in which his majesty, like all other wise and good kings, has chosen to proceed: That it is agreeable to the nature of government, religion, and our *British* constitution: And that every argument which the author has produced from reason and example, would have been a true one, had it been urged for that restrained clemency which his majesty has exercised. But is a false one, when applied to such a general, undistinguishing mercy as the author would recommend.

Having thus answered that which is the main drift and design of this pamphlet, I shall touch upon those other parts of it, which are interwoven with the arguments, to put men out of humour with the present government.

And here we may observe, that it is our author's method to suppose matters of fact which are not in being, and afterwards to descant upon them. As he is very sensible that the cause will not bear the test of reason, he has indeed every where chosen rather topicks for declamation than argument. Thus he entertains us with a laboured invective against a standing army. But what has this to do in the present case? I suppose he would not advise his majesty to disband his forces while there is an army of rebels in his dominions. I cannot imagine he would think the affections of the people of *England* a security of the government in such a juncture, were it not at the same time defended with a sufficient body of troops. No prince has ever given a greater instance of his inclinations to rule without a standing-army, if we consider, that upon the very first news of the defeat of the rebels, he declared to both houses of parliament, that he had put an immediate stop to the levies which he had begun to raise at their request, and that he would not make use of the power
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which they had entrusted him with, unless any new preparations of the enemy should make it necessary for our defence. This speech was received with the greatest gratitude by both houses; and it is said, that in the house of commons a very candid and honourable gentleman (who generally votes with the minority) declared, that he had not heard so gracious a speech from the throne for many years last past.

In another place, he supposes that the government has not endeavoured to gain the applause of the vulgar, by doing something for the church; and very gravely makes excuses for this their pretended neglect. What greater instances could his majesty have given of his love to the church of *England*, than those he has exhibited by his most solemn declarations; by his daily example; and by his promotions of the most eminent among the clergy to such vacancies as have happened in his reign. To which we must add, for the honour of his government in this particular, That it has done more for the advantage of the clergy, than those, who are the most zealous for their interest, could have expected in so short a time; which will farther appear, if we reflect upon the valuable and royal donative to one of our universities, and the provision made for those who are to officiate in the fifty new churches. His majesty is, indeed, a prince of too much magnanimity and truth, to make use of the name of the church for drawing his people into any thing that may be prejudicial to them; for what our author says, to this purpose, redounds as much to the honour of the present administration, as to the disgrace of others. *Nay, I wish with all my soul they had stooped a little ad captum vulgi to take in those shallow fluttering hearts, which are to be caught by any thing baited with the name of church,* (p. 11.)

Again; The author asks, *Whether terror is to become the only national principle?* with other questions of the same nature: And in several parts of his book harangues very plentifully against such a notion. Where he talks in general upon this topick, there is no question but every *Whig* and *Tory* in the kingdom perfectly agree
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with him in what he says. But if he would insinuate, as he seems to do in several places, that there should be no impressions of awe upon the mind of a subject, and that a government should not create terror in those who are disposed to do ill, as well as encourage those that do their duty; in short, if he is for an entire exclusion of that principle of fear which is supposed to have some influence in every law, he opposes himself to the form of every government in the world, and to the common sense of mankind.

The artifice of this author in starting objections to the friends of the government, and the foolish answers which he supposes they return to them is so very visible that every one sees they are designed rather to divert his reader, than to instruct him

I have now examined this whole pamphlet; which indeed, is written with a great deal of art, and as much argument as the cause would bear. And after having stated the true notion of clemency, mercy, compassion, good-nature, humanity, or whatever else it may be called, so far as is consistent with wisdom, and the good of mankind, or, in other words, so far as it is a moral virtue, I shall readily concur with the author in the highest panegyricks that he has bestowed upon it. As likewise, I heartily join with him in every thing he has said against justice, if it includes, as his pamphlet supposes, the extirpation of every criminal, and is not exercised with a much greater mixture of clemency than rigour. Mercy, in the true sense of the word, is that virtue by which a prince approaches nearest to him, whom he represents; and while he is neither remiss nor extreme to animadvert upon those who offend him that logick will hold true of him which is applied to the great Judge of all the earth; *With thee there is mercy: therefore shalt thou be feared.*

Monday,



N^o 32. Monday, April 9.

*Hec miserae Givēs! non hostem, inimicaque castra
Arguūm; vestras spes uritis*——— VIRG.

QUESTION not but the *British* Ladies are very well pleased with the Compliment I have payed them in the Course of my papers, by regarding them not only as the most amiable, but as the most important part of our community. They ought, indeed, to resent the treatment they have met with from other authors, who have never troubled their heads about them, but addressed all their arguments to the male half of their fellow-subjects; and taken it for granted, that if they could bring these into their measures, the females would of course follow their political mates. The arguments they have made use of are like *Hudibras's* spur, which he applied to one side of his horse, as not doubting but the other would keep pace with it. These writers seem to have regarded the fair sex but as the garniture of a nation; and when they consider them as parts of the commonwealth, it is only as they are of use to the consumption of our manufacture. *Could we persuade our British Women* (says one of our eminent merchants in a letter to his friend in the country upon the subject of commerce) *to clothe themselves in the comely apparel which might be made out of the wool of their own country; and instead of coffee, tea, and chocolate, to delight in those wholesome and palatable liquors which may be extracted from the British simples; they would be of great advantage to trade, and therein to the publick weal.*

It is now, however, become necessary to treat our women as members of the body politic; since it is visible that great numbers of them have of late eloped
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from their allegiance, and that they do not believe themselves obliged to draw with us, as yoke-fellows in the constitution. They will judge for themselves; look into the state of the nation with their own eyes; and be no longer led blindfold by a male legislature. A friend of mine was lately complaining to me, that his wife had turned off one of the best cook-maids in *England*, because the wench had said something to her fellow-servants, which seemed to favour the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* act.

When errors and prejudices are thus spread among the sex, it is the hardest thing in the world to root them out. Arguments, which are the only proper means for it, are of little use: They have a very short answer to all reasonings that turn against them, *make us believe that, if you can*; which is in *Latin*, if I may upon this occasion be allowed the pedantry of a quotation, *non persuadebis, etiamsi persuaseris*. I could not but smile at a young university disputant, who was complaining the other day of the unreasonableness of a lady with whom he was engaged in a point of controversy. Being left alone with her, he took the opportunity of pursuing an argument which had been before started in discourse, and put it to her in a syllogism: upon which, as he informed us with some heat, she granted him both the major and the minor, but denied him the conclusion.

The best method, therefore, that can be made use of with these polemical ladies, who are much more easy to be refuted than silenced, is to shew them the ridiculous side of their cause, and to make them laugh at their own politicks. It is a kind of ill manners to offer objections to a fine woman; and a man would be out of countenance that should gain the superiority in such a contest. A coquette logician may be rallied, but not contradicted. Those who would make use of solid arguments and strong reasonings to a reader or hearer of so delicate a turn, would be like that foolish people whom *Ælian* speaks of, that worshipped a fly, and sacrificed an ox to it.

The

The truth of it is, a man must be of a very disputatious temper, that enters into state-controversies with any of the fair sex. If the malignant be not beautiful, she cannot do much mischief; and if she is, her arguments will be so enforced by the charms of her person, that her antagonist may be in danger of betraying his own cause. *Milton* puts this confession into the mouth of our father *Adam*; who though he asserts his superiority of reason in his debates with the mother of mankind, adds

—————*Yet when I approach
Her loveliness, so absolute she seems,
And in herself complete; so well to know
Her own, that what she wills to do or say,
Seems wisest, virtuousest, discreetest, best:
All higher knowledge in her presence falls
Degraded, wisdom in discourse with her
Loses, discount'nanc'd, and like folly shews;
Authority and reason on her wait———*

If there is such a native loveliness in the sex, as to make them victorious even when they are in the wrong, how resistless is their power when they are on the side of truth! And, indeed, it is a peculiar good fortune to the government, that our fair malecontents are so much over-matched in beauty, as well as number, by those who are loyal to their king, and friends to their country.

Every paper, which I have hitherto addressed to our beautiful incendiaries, hath been filled with considerations of a different kind; by which means I have taken care that those, who are enemies to the sex, or to myself, may not accuse me of tautology, or pretend that I attack them with their own weapon. For this reason I shall here lay together a new set of remarks, and observe the several artifices by which the enemies to our establishment do raise such unaccountable passions and prejudices in the minds of our discontented females.

In the first place, it is usual among the most cunning of our adversaries, to represent all the rebels as very

handsome men. If the name of a traitor be mentioned, they are very particular in describing his person; and when they are not able to extenuate his treason, commend his shape. This has so good an effect in one of our female audiences, that they represent to themselves a thousand poor, tall, innocent, fresh-coloured young gentlemen, who are dispersed among the several prisons of *Great Britain*; and extend their generous compassion towards a multitude of agreeable fellows that never were in being.

Another artifice is, to instil jealousies into their minds of designs upon the anvil to retrench the privileges of the sex. Some represent the *Whigs* as enemies to *Flanders* lace: Others had spread a report that in the late act of parliament for four shillings in the pound upon land, there would be inserted a clause for raising a tax upon pin-mony. That the ladies may be the better upon their guard against suggestions of this nature, I shall beg leave to put them in mind of the story of *Papirius*, the son of a *Roman* senator. This young gentleman, after having been present in publick debates, was usually teized by his mother to inform her of what had passed. In order to deliver himself from this importunity, he told her one day, upon his return from the senate-house, that there had been a motion made for a decree to allow every man two wives. The good lady said nothing; but managed matters so well among the *Roman* matrons, that the next day they met together in a body before the senate-house, and presented a petition to the fathers against so unreasonable a Law. This groundless credulity raised so much raillery upon the petitioners, that we do not find the ladies offered to direct the lawgivers of their country ever after.

There has been another method lately made use of, which has been practised with extraordinary success; I mean the spreading abroad reports of prodigies, which has wonderfully gratified the curiosity, as well as the hopes of our fair malignants. Their managers turn water into blood for them; frighten them with sea monsters; make them see armies in the air; and

and give them their word, the more to ingratiate themselves with them, that they signify nothing less than future slaughter and desolation. The disloyal part of the sex immediately hug themselves at the news of the bloody fountain; look upon these fish as their friends; have great expectations from the clouds; and are very angry with you, if you think they do not all portend ruin to their country.

Secret history and scandal have always had their allurements; and I have in other discourses shewn the great advantage that is made of them in the present ferment among the fair ones.

But the master-engine, to overturn the minds of the female world, is the *danger of the church*. I am not so uncharitable as to think there is any thing in an observation made by several of the *Whigs*, that there is scarce a woman in *England* who is troubled with the vapours, but is more or less affected with this cry: or, to remark with others, that it is not uttered in any part of the nation with so much bitterness of tongue and heart, as in the districts of *Drury-lane*. On the contrary, I believe there are many devout and honourable women who are deluded in this point by the artifice of designing men. To these, therefore, I would apply myself, in a more serious manner, and desire them to consider how that laudable piety, which is natural to the sex, is apt to degenerate into a groundless and furious zeal, when it is not kept within the bounds of charity and reason. Female zeal, though proceeding from so good a principle, has been infinitely detrimental to society, and to religion itself. If we may believe the *French* historians, it often put a stop to the proceedings of their kings, which might have ended in a reformation. For, upon their breaking with the pope, the queens frequently interposed, and by their importunities, reconciled them to the usurpations of the church of *Rome*. Nay, it was this vicious zeal which gave a remarkable check to the first progress of Christianity, as we find it recorded by a sacred historian in the following passage, which I shall leave to the consideration of my female readers. *But the Jews stirred up*

the devout and honourable women and the chief men of the city, and raised a persecution against Paul and Barnabas, and expelled them out of their coasts.



No 33.

Friday, April 13.

Nulli adversus magistratus ac reges gratiores sunt, nec immerito, nullis enim plus praestant quam quibus frui tranquillo otio licet. Itaque hi, quibus ad propositum bene vivendi confert securitas publica, necesse est auctorem hujus boni ut parentem colant. SEN. EP. 73.

WE find by our publick papers, the university of *Dublin* have lately presented to the prince of *Wales*, in a most humble and beautiful manner, their diploma for constituting his royal highness chancellor of that learned body; and that the prince received this their offer with the goodness and condescension which is natural to his illustrious house. As the college of *Dublin* have been long famous for their great learning, they have now given us an instance of their good sense; and it is with pleasure that we find such a disposition in this famous nursery of letters to propagate sound principles, and to act, in its proper sphere, for the honour and dignity of the royal family. We hope that such an example will have its influence on other societies of the same nature; and cannot but rejoice to see the heir of *Great Britain* vouchsafing to patronize in so peculiar a manner that noble seminary, which is perhaps at this time training up such persons as may hereafter be ornaments to his reign.

When men of learning are acted thus by a knowledge of the world as well as of books, and shew that their studies naturally inspire them with a love to their king and country; they give a reputation to literature, and convince the world of its usefulness. But when arts and sciences are so perverted as to dispose

pose men to act in contradiction to the rest of the community, and to set up for a kind of separate republick among themselves, they draw upon them the indignation of the wise, and the contempt of the ignorant.

It has indeed been observed, that persons, who are very much esteemed for their knowledge and ingenuity in their private characters, have acted like strangers to mankind, and to the dictates of right reason, when joined together in a body. Like several chymical waters, that are each of them clear and transparent when separate, but ferment into a thick troubled liquor when they are mixed in the same vial.

There is a piece of mythology which bears very hard upon learned men; and which I shall here relate, rather for the delicacy of the satire, than for the justness of the moral. When the city of *Athens* was finished, we are told that *Neptune* and *Minerva* presented themselves as candidates for the guardianship of the place. The *Athenians*, after a full debate upon the matter, came to an election, and made choice of *Minerva*. Upon which *Neptune*, who very much resented the indignity, upbraided them with their stupidity and ignorance; that a maritime town should reject the patronage of him who was the God of the seas, and could defend them against all the attacks of their enemies. He concluded with a curse upon the inhabitants, which was to stick to them and their posterity; namely, *that they should be all fools*. When *Minerva* their tutelary Goddess, who presides over arts and sciences, came among them to receive the honour they had conferred upon her, they made heavy complaints of the curse which *Neptune* had laid upon the city; and begged her, if possible to take it off. But she told them it was not in her power; for that one deity could not reverse the act of another. However, said she, *I may alleviate the curse which I cannot remove: It is not possible for me to hinder you from being fools, but I will take care that you shall be learned.*

There is nothing which bodies of learned men should be more careful of, than, by all due methods, to cultivate the favour of the great and powerful. The indulgence

dulgence of a prince is absolutely necessary to the propagation, the defence, the honour and support of learning. It naturally creates in mens minds an ambition to distinguish themselves by letters; and multiplies the number of those who are dedicated to the pursuits of knowledge. It protects them against the violence of brutal men; and gives them opportunities to pursue their studies in a state of peace and tranquillity. It puts the learned in countenance; and gives them a place among the fashionable part of mankind. It distributes rewards; and encourages speculative persons, who have neither opportunity nor a turn of mind to increase their own fortunes, with all the incentives of place, profit, and preferment. On the contrary, nothing is in itself so pernicious to communities of learned men, nor more apprehended by those that wish them well, than the displeasure of their prince, which those may justly expect to feel, who would make use of his favour to his own prejudice, and put in practice all the methods that lie within their power to vilify his person, and distress his government. In both these cases, a learned body is in a more particular manner exposed to the influence of their king, as described by the wisest of men, *the wrath of a king is as the roaring of a lion; but his favour is as the dew upon the grass.*

We find in our *English* histories, that the empress *Matilda*, (who was the great ancestor of his present majesty, and whose grand-daughter of the same name has a place upon several of the *Hanover* medals) was particularly favoured by the university of *Oxford*, and defended in that place, when most parts of the kingdom had revolted against her. Nor is it to be questioned, but an university so famous for learning and sound knowledge, will shew the same zeal for her illustrious descendent, as they will every day discern his majesty's royal virtues, through those prejudices which have been raised in their minds by artful and designing men. It is with much pleasure we see this great fountain of learning already beginning to run clear, and recovering its natural purity and brightness. None can imagine that

that a community which is taxed by the worst of its enemies, only for overstraining the notions of loyalty even to bad princes, will fall short of a due allegiance to the best

When this happy temper of mind is fully established among them, we may justly hope to see the largest share of his majesty's favours fall upon that university, which is the greatest, and upon all accounts the most considerable not only in his dominions but in all Europe.

I shall conclude this paper with a quotation out of *Cambden's* history of queen *Elizabeth*, who, after having described that queen's reception at *Oxford*, gives an account of the speech which she made to them at her departure; concluding with a piece of advice to that university. Her counsel was *that they would first serve God, not after the curiosity of some, but according to the laws of God and the lands; that they would not go before the laws, but follow them; nor dispute whether better might be prescribed, but keep those prescribed already; obey their superiors; and lastly embrace one another in brotherly piety and concord.*



N^o 34. Monday, April 16.

————— *saevus apertam*
In rabiem coepit verti jocus—————

HOR.

IT is very justly, as well as frequently observed, that if our nation be ever ruined, it must be by itself. The parties and divisions which reign among us may several ways bring destruction upon our country, at the same time that our united force would be sufficient to secure us against all the attempts of a foreign enemy. Whatever expedients therefore can be found to allay those heats and animosities, which break us into different factions and interests, cannot but

but be useful to the publick, and highly tend to its safety, strength and reputation.

This dangerous dissension among us discovers itself in all the most indifferent circumstances of life. We keep it up, and cherish it with as much pains, as if it were a kind of national blessing. It insinuates itself into all our discourses, mixes in our parties of pleasure, has a share in our diversions, and is an ingredient in most of our publick entertainments.

I was not long ago at the play called *Sir Courtly Nice*, where, to the eternal reproach of good sense, I found the whole audience had very gravely ranged themselves into two parties, under *Hot-head* and *Testimony*. *Hot-head* was the applauded hero of the *Tories*, and *Testimony* no less the favourite of the *Whigs*. Each party followed their champion. It was wonderful to see so polite an assembly distinguish themselves by such extraordinary representatives, and avowing their principles as conformable either to the zeal of *Hot-head*, or the moderation of *Testimony*. Thus the two parts which were designed to expose the faults of both sides, and were accordingly received by our ancestors in king *Charles* the second's reign, meet with a kind of sanction from the applauses which are respectively bestowed on them by their wise posterity. We seem to imagine that they were written as patterns for imitation, not as objects of ridicule.

This humour runs so far, that most of our late comedies owe their success to it. The audience listens after nothing else. I have seen little *Dicky* place himself with great approbation at the head of the *Tories* for five acts together, and *Pinky* espouse the interest of the *Whigs* with no less success. I do not find that either party has yet thrown themselves under the patronage of Scaramouch, or that Harlequin has violated that neutrality, which, upon his late arrival in *Great Britain*, he professed to both parties, and which it is thought he will punctually observe, being allowed on all sides to be a man of honour. It is true, that upon his first appearance, a violent *Whig* tradesman in the pit began to compliment him with a clap, as overjoyed

joyed to see him mount a ladder, and fancying him to be drest in a highland plaid.

I question not but my readers will be surprized to find me animadverting on a practice that has been always favourable to the cause which now prevails. The *British* theatre was *Whig* even in the worst of times; and in the last reign did not scruple to testify its zeal for the good of our country, by many magnanimous claps in its lower regions, answered with loud huzza's from the upper gallery. This good disposition is so much heightened of late, that the whole neighbourhood of the *Drury-Lane* theatre very often shakes with the loyalty of the audience. It is said, that a young author, who very much relies on this prevailing humour, is now writing a farce to be called *A match out of Newgate*, in allusion to the title of a comedy called *A match in Newgate*; and that his chief person is a round-shoulder'd man with a pretty large nose and a wide mouth, making his addresses to a lovely black woman that passes for a peeress of *Great Britain*. In short, the whole play is built upon the late escape of general *Forester*, who is suposed upon the road to fall in love with my lord *Nithsdale*, whom the ingenious author imagines to be still in his riding-hood.

But notwithstanding the good principles of a *British* audience in this one particular, it were to be wished that every thing should be banished the stage which has a tendency to exasperate mens minds, and inflame that party rage which makes us such a miserable and divided people. And that in the first place, because such a proceeding as this disappoints the very design of all publick diversions and entertainments. The institution of sports and shews was intended by all governments, to turn off the thoughts of the people from busying themselves in matters of state, which did not belong to them; to reconcile them to one another by the common participations of mirth and pleasure; and to wear out of their minds that rancour which they might have contracted by the interfering views of interest and ambition. It would therefore be for the benefit of every society, that is disturbed by contending factions, to encourage

courage such innocent amusements as may thus disem-bitter the minds of men, and make them mutually rejoice in the same agreeable satisfactions. When people are accustomed to sit together with pleasure, it is a step towards reconciliation: But as we manage matters, our politest assemblies are like boisterous clubs that meet over a glass of wine, and before they have done, throw bottles at one another's heads. Instead of multiplying those desirable opportunities where we may agree in points that are indifferent, we let the spirit of contention into those very methods that are not only foreign to it, but should in their nature dispose us to be friends. This our anger in our mirth is like poison in a perfume, which taints the spirits instead of cheering and refreshing them.

Another manifest inconvenience which arises from this abuse of publick entertainments, is, that it naturally destroys the taste of an audience. I do not deny, but that several performances have been justly applauded for their wit, which have been written with an eye to this predominant humour of the town: But it is visible even in these, that it is not the excellence, but the applications of the sentiment, that has raised applause. An author is very much disappointed to find the best parts of his productions received with indifference; and to see the audience discovering beauties which he never intended. The actors, in the midst of an innocent old play, are often startled with unexpected claps or hisses; and do not know whether they have been talking like good subjects, or have spoken treason. In short, we seem to have such a relish for faction, as to have lost that of wit, and are so used to the bitterness of party rage, that we cannot be gratified with the highest entertainment that has not this kind of seasoning in it. But as no work must expect to live long, which draws all its beauty from the colour of the times; so neither can that pleasure be of greater continuance, which arises from the prejudice or malice of its hearers.

-To conclude; Since the present hatred and violence of parties is so unspeakably pernicious to the communi-

ty,

ty, and none can do a better service to their country than those who use their utmost endeavours to extinguish it, we may reasonably hope, that the more elegant part of the nation will give a good example to the rest; and put an end to so absurd and foolish a practice, which makes our most refined diversions detrimental to the publick, and in a particular manner destructive of all politeness.



N^o 35. Friday, April 20.

Atheniensium res gestae, sicut ego existumo, satis amplae magnificaeque suere, verum aliquanto minores tamen, quam fama feruntur : sed, quia provenere ibi magna scriptorum ingenia, per terrarum orbem Atheniensium facta pro maximis celebrantur. Ita eorum, qui ea fecere, virtus tanta habetur, quantum verbis ea potuere extollere praeclara ingenia. SALLUST.

GRATIAN, among his maxims for raising a man to the most consummate character of greatness, advises first to perform extraordinary actions, and in the next place to secure a good historian. Without the last, he considers the first as thrown away ; as indeed they are in a great measure by such illustrious persons, as make fame and reputation the end of their undertakings. The most shining merit goes down to posterity with disadvantage, when it is not placed by writers in its proper light.

The misfortune is, that there are more instances of men who deserve this kind of immortality, than of authors who are able to bestow it. Our country which has produced writers of the first figure in every other kind of work, has been very barren in good historians. We have had several who have been able to compile matters of fact, but very few who have been able to digest them with that purity and elegance of style, that

nicety, and strength of reflection, that subtilty and discernment in the unravelling of a character, and that choice of circumstances for enlivening the whole narration, which we so justly admire in the antient historians of *Greece* and *Rome*, and in some authors of our neighbouring nations.

Those who, have succeeded best in works of this kind are such, who, besides their natural good sense and learning, have themselves been versed in publick business, and thereby acquired a thorough knowledge of men and things. It was the advice of the great duke of *Schomberg*, to an eminent historian of his acquaintance, who was an *ecclesiastick*, that he should avoid being too particular in the drawing up of an army, and other circumstances of the day of battle; for that he had always observed most notorious blunders and absurdities committed on that occasion, by such writers as were not conversant in the art of war. We may reasonably expect the like mistake, in every other kind of publick matters, recorded by those who have only a distant theory of such affairs. Besides, it is not very probable, that men, who have passed all their time in low and vulgar life, should have a suitable idea of the several beauties and blemishes in the actions or characters of great men. For this reason I find an old law quoted by the famous Monsieur *Bayle*, that no person below the dignity of a *Roman* knight should presume to write an history.

In *England* there is scarce any one, who has had a tincture of reading or study, that is not apt to fancy himself equal to so great a task; though it is plain, that many of our countrymen, who have tampered in history, frequently shew, that they do not understand the very nature of those transactions which they recount. Nay, nothing is more usual than to see every man, who is versed in any particular way of business, finding fault with several of these authors, so far as they treat of matters within his sphere.

There is a race of men lately sprung up among this sort of writers, whom one cannot reflect upon without indignation as well as contempt. These are our *Grub-*

street

street biographers, who watch for the death of a great man, like so many undertakers, on purpose to make a penny of him. He is no sooner laid in his grave, but he falls into the hands of an historian; who, to swell a volume, ascribes to him works which he never wrote, and actions which he never performed; celebrates virtues which he was never famous for, and excuses faults which he was never guilty of. They fetch their only authentick record out of *Doctors Commons*, and when they have got a copy of his last will and testament, they fancy themselves furnished with sufficient materials for his history. This might indeed enable them in some measure to write the history of his death; but what can we expect from an author that undertakes to write the life of a great man, who is furnished with no other matters of fact, besides legacies; and instead of being able to tell us what he did, can only tells us what he bequeathed? This manner of exposing the private concerns of families, and sacrificing the secrets of the dead to the curiosity of the living, is one of those licentious practices which might well deserve the animadversion of our government, when it has time to contrive expedients for remedying the many crying abuses of the press. In the mean while, what a poor idea must strangers conceive of those persons, who have been famous among us in their generation, should they form their notions of them from the writings of these our historiographers! What would our posterity think of their illustrious forefathers, should they only see them in such weak and disadvantageous lights! But to our comfort, works of this nature are so short-lived, that they cannot possibly diminish the memory of those patriots which they are not able to preserve.

The truth of it is, as the lives of great men cannot be written with any tolerable degree of elegance or exactness, within a short space after their decease: so neither is it fit that the history of a person, who has acted among us in a publick character, should appear, till envy and friendship are laid asleep, and the prejudice both of his antagonists and adherents be, in some degree,

softned and subdued. There is no question but there are several eminent persons in each party, however they may represent one another at present, who will have the same admirers among posterity, and be equally celebrated by those, whose minds will not be dis tempered by interest, passion, or partiality. It were happy for us, could we prevail upon ourselves to imagine, that, one, who differs from us in opinion, may possibly be an honest man; and that we might do the same justice to one another, which will be done us hereafter by those who shall make their appearance in the world, when this generation is no more. But in our present miserable and divided condition, how just soever a man's pretensions may be to a great or blameless reputation, he must expect his share of obloquy and reproach, and, even with regard to his posthumous character, content himself with such a kind of consideration, as induced the famous Sir *Francis Bacon*, after having bequeathed his soul to God, and his body to the earth, to leave his fame to foreign nations; and after some years, to his own country.



N^o 36. Monday, April 23.

———*Ille se jactet in aula.*

VIRG.

AMONG all the paradoxes in politicks which have been advanced by some among us, there is none so absurd and shocking to the most ordinary understanding, as that it is possible for *Great Britain* to be quietly governed by a *Popish* sovereign. King *Henry* the fourth found it impracticable for a *Protestant* to reign even in *France*, notwithstanding the reformed religion does not engage a prince to the persecution of any other; and notwithstanding the authority of the sovereign in that country is more able to support itself, and command the obedience of the people, than

in any other *European* monarchy. We are convinced by the experience of our own times, that our Constitution is not able to bear a *Popish* prince at the head of it. King *James* the second was endued with many royal virtues, and might have made a nation of *Roman Catholics* happy under his administration. The grievances we suffered in his reign proceeded purely from his religion: But they were such as made the whole body of the nobility, clergy, and commonalty, rise up as one man against him, and oblige him to quit the throne of his ancestors. The truth of it is, we have only the vices of a *Protestant* prince to fear, and may be made happy by his virtues: But in a *Popish* prince we have no chance for our prosperity; his very piety obliges him to our destruction: And in proportion as he is more religious, he becomes more insupportable. One would wonder, therefore, to find many who call themselves *Protestants*, favouring the pretensions of a person who has been bred up in the utmost bitterness and bigotry of the church of *Rome*; and who, in all probability, within less than a twelve-month, would be opposed by those very men that are industrious to set him upon the throne, were it possible for so wicked and unnatural an attempt to succeed.

I was some months ago in a company, that diverted themselves with the declaration which he had then published, and particularly with the date of it, *in the fourteenth year of our reign*. The company was surprized to find there was a king in *Europe* who had reigned so long and made such a secret of it. This gave occasion to one of them, who is now in *France*, to enquire into the history of this remarkable reign, which he has digested into annals, and lately transmitted hither for the perusal of his friends.

I have suppressed such personal reflections as are mixed in this short chronicle, as not being to the purpose; and find that the whole history of his regal conduct and exploits, may be comprized in the remaining part of this half-sheet.

The History of the Pretender's Fourteen Years Reign, digested into Annals.

ANNO Regni 1^o. He made choice of his ministry, the first of whom was his confessor. This was a person recommended by the society of Jesuits, who represented him as one very proper to guide the conscience of a king, that hoped to rule over an island which is not within the pale of the church. He then proceeded to name the president of his council, his secretaries of state, and gave away a very honourable Sine-cure to his principal favourite, by constituting him his lord-high-treasurer. He likewise signed a dormant commission for another to be his high-admiral, with orders to produce it whenever he had sea-room for his employment.

Anno Regni 2^o. He perfected himself in the minuet step.

Anno Regni 3^o. He grow half a foot.

Anno Regni 4^o. He wrote a letter to the Pope, desiring him to be as kind to him as his predecessor had been, who was his Godfather. In the same year he ordered the lord-high-treasurer to pay off the debts of the crown, which had been contracted since his accession to the throne; particularly, a milk-score of three years standing.

Anno Regni 5^o. He very much improved himself in all princely learning, having read over the legends of the saints, with the history of those several martyrs in England, who had attempted to blow up a whole parliament of Hereticks.

Anno Regni 6^o. He applied himself to the arts of government with more than ordinary diligence; took a plan of the Bastile with his own hand; visited the galleys; and studied the edicts of his great patron Louis XIV.

Anno Regni 7^o. Being now grown up to years of maturity, he resolved to seek adventures; but was very much divided in his mind, whether he should make an

ex-

expedition to *Scotland*, or a pilgrimage to *Loretto*) being taught to look upon the latter, in a religious sense as the place of his nativity. At length he resolved upon his *Scotch* expedition; and, as the first exertion of that royal authority, which he was going to assume, he knighted himself. After a short piece of errantry upon the seas, he got safe back to *Dunkirk*, where he paid his devotions to St. *Anthony*, for having delivered him from the dangers of the sea, and Sir *George Bing*.

Anno Regni 8^o. He made a campaign in *Flanders*, where, by the help of a telescope, he saw the battle of *Oudenarde*, and the prince of *Hanover*'s horse shot under him; being posted on a high tower with two *French* princes of the blood.

Anno Regni 9^o. He made a second campaign in *Flanders*, and upon his return to the *French* court, gained a great reputation, by his performance in a *Rigadoon*.

Anno Regni 10^o. The pope having heard the fame of these his military achievements, made him the offer of a cardinal's cap; which he was advised not to accept, by some of his friends in *England*.

Anno Regni 11^o. He retired to *Lorrain*, where every morning he made great havock among the wild fowl, by the advice, and with the assistance of his privy-council. He is said this summer, to have shot with his own hands fifty brace of pheasants, and one wild pig; to have set thirty coveys of partridges; and to have hunted down forty brace of hares; to which he might have added as many foxes, had not most of them made their escape, by running out of his friend's dominions, before his dogs could finish the chace. He was particularly animated to these diversions by his ministry, who thought they would not a little recommend him to the good opinion and kind offices of several *British* fox-hunters.

Anno Regni 12^o. He made a visit to the duke d'*Aumont*, and passed for a *French* marquis in a masquerade.

Anno Regni 13^o. He visited several convents, and gathered subscriptions from all the well-disposed monks and

and nuns, to whom he communicated his design of an attempt upon *Great Britain*.

Anno Regni 14^o. He now made great preparations for the invasion of *England*, and got together vast stores of ammunition, consisting of reliques, gun-powder and cannon-ball. He received from the pope a very large contribution, one moiety in money, and the other in indulgences. An *Irish* priest brought him an authentick tooth of *St. Thomas a Becket*, and, it is thought, was to have for his reward the archbishoprick of *Canterbury*. Every monastery contributed something: One gave him a thousand pound; and another as many masses.

This year containing farther the battles which he fought in *Scotland*, and the towns which he took, is so fresh in every one's memory, that we shall say no more of it.



N^o 37. Friday, April 27.

————— quod si
*Frigida curarum fomenta relinquere posses;
 Quo te caelestis sapientia duceret, ires.
 Hoc opus, hoc studium parvi properemus, et ampli,
 Si patriae volumus, si nobis vivere cari.*

HOR.

IT is a melancholy reflection, that our country, which in times of Popery was called the nation of saints, should now have less appearance of religion in it, than any other neighbouring state or kingdom; whether they be such as continue still immersed in the errors of the church of *Rome*, or such as are recovered out of them. This is a truth that is obvious to every one, who has been conversant in foreign parts. It was formerly thought dangerous for a young man to travel, lest he should return an *Atheist* to his native country: But at present it is certain, that an *English-*
 man

man, who has any tolerable degree of reflection, cannot be better awakened to a sense of religion in general, than by observing how the minds of all mankind are set upon this important point; how every nation is serious and attentive to the great business of their being; and that in other countries a man is not out of the fashion, who is bold and open in the profession and practice of all Christian duties.

This decay of piety is by no means to be imputed to the *Reformation*, which in its first establishment produced its proper fruits, and distinguished the whole age with shining instances of virtue and morality. If we would trace out the original of that flagrant and avowed impiety, which has prevailed among us for some years, we should find that it owes its rise to that opposite extreme of *Cant* and *Hypocrisy*, which had taken possession of the people's minds in the times of the great Rebellion, and of the usurpation that succeeded it. The practices of these men, under the covert of a feigned zeal, made even the appearances of sincere devotion ridiculous and unpopular. The Raillery of the wits and courtiers, in king *Charles* the second's reign, upon every thing which they then called precise, was carried to so great an extravagance, that it almost put Christianity out of countenance. The ridicule grew so strong and licentious, that from this time we may date that remarkable turn in the behaviour of our fashionable *Englishmen*, that makes them shame-faced in the exercise of those duties which they were sent into the world to perform.

The late cry of the *Church* has been an artifice of the same kind with that made use of by the hypocrites of the last age, and has had as fatal an influence upon religion. If a man would but seriously consider how much greater comfort he would receive in the last moments of his life from a reflection that he has made one virtuous man, than that he has made a thousand *Tories*, we should not see the zeal of so many good men turned off from its proper end, and employed in making such a kind of Converts. What satisfaction will it be to an immoral man, at such a time, to think he is a good
Whig!

Whig! Or to one that is conscious of sedition, perjury, or rebellion, that he dies with the reputation of a *High-Churchman!*

But to consider how this cry of the *Church* has corrupted the morals of both parties. Those who are the loudest in it, regard themselves rather as a political, than a religious community; and are held together rather by state-notions, than by articles of faith. This fills the minds of weak men, who fall into the snare, with groundless fears and apprehensions, unspeakable rage towards their fellow-subjects, wrong ideas of persons whom they are not acquainted with, and uncharitable interpretations of those actions of which they are not competent judges. It instils into their minds the utmost virulence and bitterness, instead of that charity, which is the perfection and ornament of religion, and the most indispensable and necessary means for attaining the end of it. In a word, among these mistaken zealots, it sanctifies cruelty and injustice, riots and treason.

The effects which this cry of the *Church* has had on the other party, are no less manifest and deplorable. They see themselves unjustly aspersed by it, and vindicate themselves in terms no less opprobrious, than those by which they were attacked. Their indignation and resentment rises in proportion to the malice of their adversaries. The unthinking part of them are apt to contract an unreasonable aversion even to that ecclesiastical constitution to which they are represented as enemies; and not only to particular persons, but to that order of men in general, which will be always held sacred and honourable, so long as there is reason and religion in the world.

I might mention many other corruptions common to both parties, which naturally flow from this source; and might easily shew, upon a full display of them, that this clamour, which pretends to be raised for the safety of religion, has almost worn out the very appearance of it; and rendered us not only the most divided, but the most immoral people upon the face of the earth.

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When our nation is overflowed with such a deluge of impiety, it must be a great pleasure to find any expedient take place, that has a tendency to recover it out of so dismal a condition. This is one great reason why an honest man may rejoice to see an act so near taking effect, for making elections of members to serve in parliament less frequent. I find myself prevented by other writings (which have considered the act now depending, in this particular light) from expatiating upon this subject. I shall only mention two short pieces which I have been just now reading, under the following titles, *Arguments about the alteration of the triennial elections of parliament*: And, *The alteration in the triennial act considered*.

The reasons for this law, as it is necessary for settling his majesty in his throne; for extinguishing the spirit of rebellion; for procuring foreign alliances; and other advantages of the like nature; carry a great weight with them. But I am particularly pleased with it, as it may compose our unnatural feuds and animosities, revive an honest spirit of industry in the nation, and cut off frequent occasions of brutal rage and intemperance. In short, as it will make us not only a more safe, a more flourishing, and a more happy, but also a more virtuous people.



N^o 38. Monday, April 30.

— Longum, formosa, Vale — VIRG.

IT is the ambition of the male-part of the world to make themselves esteemed, and of the female to make themselves beloved. As this is the last paper which I shall address to my fair readers, I cannot perhaps oblige them more than by leaving them as a kind of legacy a certain secret which seldom fails of procuring this affection, which they are naturally formed

formed both to desire and to obtain. This *Nostrum* is comprized in the following sentence of *Seneca*, which I shall translate for the service of my country-women. *Ego tibi monstrabo amatorium sine medicamento, sine herba, sine ullius Veneficae carmine : si vis amari, ama. I will discover to you a Philter that has neither drug nor simple, nor enchantment in it. Love, if you would raise love.* If there be any truth in this discovery, and this be such a specifick as the author pretends, there is nothing which makes the sex more unamiable than party rage. The finest woman, in a transport of fury, loses the use of her face. Instead of charming her beholders, she frights both friend and foe. The latter can never be smitten by so bitter an enemy, nor the former captivated by a nymph, who upon occasion, can be so very angry. The most endearing of our beautiful fellow-subjects, are those whose minds are the least imbittered with the passions and prejudices of either side, and who discover the native sweetness of the sex in every part of their conversation and behaviour. A lovely woman, who thus flourishes in her innocence and good-humour, amidst that mutual spite and rancour which prevails among her exasperated sisterhood, appears more amiable by the singularity of her character ; and may be compared, with *Solomon's* bride, to a lily among the thorns.

A stateswoman is as ridiculous a creature as a cottaguan. Each of the sexes should keep within its particular bounds, and content themselves to excel within their respective districts. When *Venus* complained to *Jupiter* of the wounds which she had received in battle, the father of the gods smiled upon her, and put her in mind, that instead of mixing in a war, which was not her business, she should have been officiating in her proper ministry, and carrying on the delights of marriage. The delicacy of several modern criticks has been offended with *Homer's Billingsgate* warriors ; but a scolding heroine is, at the worst, a more tolerable character than a bully in petticoats. To which we may add, that the keenest satirist, among the ancients, looked

ed upon nothing as a more proper subject of raillery and invective, than a female gladiator.

I am the more disposed to take into consideration these ladies of fire and politicks, because it would be very monstrous to see feuds and animosities kept up among the soft sex, when they are in so hopeful a way of being composed among the men, by the septennial bill, which is now ready for the royal assent. As this is likely to produce a cessation of arms, till the expiration of the present parliament, among one half of our island, it is very reasonable that the more beautiful moiety of his majesty's subjects should establish a truce among themselves for the same term of years. Or rather it were to be wished, that they would summon together a kind of senate, or parliament, of the fairest and wisest of our sister subjects, in order to enact a perpetual neutrality among the sex. They might at least appoint something like a committee, chosen from among the ladies residing in *London* and *Westminster*, in order to prepare a bill to be laid before the assembly upon the first opportunity of their meeting. The regulation might be as follows :

' That a committee of toasts be forthwith appointed ;
' to consider the present state of the sex in the *Britiss*
' nation.

' That this committee do meet at the house of every
' respective member of it on her visiting-day ; and that
' every one who comes to it shall have a vote, and a
' dish of tea.

' That the committee be empowered to send for
' Billets-doux, libels, lampoons, lists of toasts, or any
' other the like papers and records.

' That it be an instruction to the said committee, to
' consider of proper ways and methods to reclaim the
' obstinately opprobrious and virulent ; and how to
' make the ducking-stool more useful.

Being always willing to contribute my assistance to my country-women, I would propose a preamble, setting forth, ' That the late civil war among the sex has
' tended very much to the lessening of that ancient
' and undoubted authority, which they have claim-

‘ ed over the male part of the island ; to the ruin of
 ‘ good housewifery ; and to the betraying of many im-
 ‘ portant secrets : That it has produced much bitter-
 ‘ ness of speech, many sharp and violent contests, and
 ‘ a great effusion of Citron-water : That it has raised
 ‘ animosities in their hearts, and heats in their faces :
 ‘ That it has broke out in their ribbons, and caused
 ‘ unspeakable confusions in their dress : And above all,
 ‘ That it has introduced a certain frown into the fea-
 ‘ tures, and a sourness into the air of our *British* la-
 ‘ dies, to the great damage of their charms, and visi-
 ‘ ble decay of the national beauty.

As for the enacting part of the bill, it may consist of many particulars, which will naturally arise from the debates of the tea-table ; and must, therefore, be left to the discretion and experience of the committee. Perhaps it might not be amiss to enact, among other things.

‘ That the discoursing on politicks shall be looked
 ‘ upon as dull as talking on the weather.

‘ That if any man troubles a female assembly with
 ‘ parliament-news, he shall be marked out as a block-
 ‘ head, or an incendiary.

‘ That no woman shall henceforth presume to stick
 ‘ a patch upon her forehead, unless it be in the very
 ‘ middle, that is, in the neutral part of it.

‘ That all fans and snuff-boxes, of what principles
 ‘ soever, shall be called in : And that orders be given
 ‘ to *Motteux* and *Mathers*, to deliver out in exchange
 ‘ for them, such as have no tincture of party in
 ‘ them.

‘ That when any lady bespeaks a play, she shall take
 ‘ effectual care, that the audience be pretty equally
 ‘ chequered with *Whigs* and *Tories*.

‘ That no woman of any party presume to influence
 ‘ the legislature.

‘ That there be a general amnesty and oblivion of
 ‘ all former hostilities and distinctions, all publick and
 ‘ private failings on either side : And that every one
 ‘ who comes into this neutrality within the space
 ‘ of

Weeks, shall be allowed an ell extraor-
 ‘ dinary,

dinary, above the present standard, in the circumference of her petticoat.

‘ Provided always nevertheless, That nothing herein contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, to any person or persons, inhabiting and practising within the hundreds of *Drury*, or to any other of that society in what part soever of the nation in like manner practising and residing; who are still at liberty to rail, calumniate, scold, frown and pout, as in asofretimes, any thing in this act to the contrary notwithstanding.



N^o 39. Friday, May 4.

Prodesse quam Conspici.

IT often happens, that extirpating the love of glory, which is observed to take the deepest root in noble minds, tears up several virtues with it; and that suppressing the desire of fame is apt to reduce men to a state of indolence and supineness. But when without any incentive of vanity, a person of great abilities is zealous for the good of mankind; and as solicitous for the concealment, as the performance of illustrious actions; we may be sure that he has something more than ordinary in his composition, and has a heart filled with goodness and magnanimity.

There is not perhaps, in all history, a greater instance of this temper of mind, than what appeared in that excellent person whose motto I have placed at the head of this paper. He had worn himself out in his application to such studies as made him useful or ornamental to the world, in concerting schemes for the welfare of his country, and in prosecuting such measures as were necessary for making those schemes effectual: But all this was done with a view to the publick good that should rise out of these generous

endeavours, and not to the same which should accrue to himself. Let the reputation of the action fall where it would; so his country reaped the benefit of it, he was satisfied. As this turn of mind threw off in a great measure the oppositions of envy and competition, it enabled him to gain the most vain and impracticable into his designs, and to bring about several great events for the safety and advantage of the publick, which must have died in the birth, had he been as desirous of appearing beneficial to mankind, as of being so.

As he was admitted into the secret and most retired thoughts and counsels of his royal master king *William*, a great share in the plan of the Protestant succession is universally ascribed to him. And if he did not entirely project the union of the two kingdoms, and the bill of regency, which seem to have been the only methods in human policy for securing to us so inestimable a blessing, there is none who will deny him to have been the chief conductor in both these glorious works. For posterity are obliged to allow him that praise after his death, which he industriously declined while he was living. His life indeed seems to have been prolonged beyond its natural term. Under those indispositions which hung upon the latter part of it, that he might have the satisfaction of seeing the happy settlement take place, which he had proposed to himself as the principal end of all his publick labours. Nor was it a small addition to his happiness, that by this means he saw those who had been always his most intimate friends, and who had concerted with him such measures for the guaranty of the Protestant succession, as drew upon them the displeasure of men who were averse to it, advanced to the highest posts of trust and honour under his present majesty. I believe there are none of these patriots, who will think it a derogation from their merit to have it said, that they received many lights and advantages from their intimacy with my Lord *Somers*: Who had such a general knowledge of affairs, and so tender a concern for his friends, that whatever station they

were

were in, they usually applied to him for his advice in every perplexity of business, and in affairs of the greatest difficulty.

His life was, in every part of it, set off with that graceful modesty and reserve, which made his virtues more beautiful, the more they were cast in such agreeable shades.

His religion was sincere, not ostentatious; and such as inspired him with an universal benevolence towards all his fellow-subjects, not with bitterness against any part of them. He shewed his firm adherence to it as modelled by our national constitution, and was constant to its offices of devotion, both in publick and in his family. He appeared a champion for it with great reputation in the cause of the seven bishops, at a time when the church was really in danger. To which we may add, that he held a strict friendship and correspondence with the great archbishop *Tillotson*, being acted by the same spirit of candour and moderation; and moved rather with pity than indignation towards the persons of those, who differed from him in the unessential parts of Christianity.

His great humanity appeared in the minutest circumstances of his conversation. You found it in the benevolence of his aspect, the complacency of his behaviour, and the tone of his voice. His great application to the severer studies of the law, has not infected his temper with any thing positive or litigious. He did not know what it was to wrangle on indifferent points, to triumph in the superiority of his understanding, or to be supercilious on the side of truth. He joined the greatest delicacy of good-breeding to the greatest strength of reason. By approving the sentiments of a person, with whom he conversed, in such particulars as were just, he won him over from those points in which he was mistaken; and had so agreeable a way of conveying knowledge, that whoever conferred with him grew the wiser, without perceiving that he had been instructed. We may probably ascribe to this masterly and engaging manner of conversation, the great esteem which he had gained with the late queen,

while she pursued those measures which had carried the *British* nation to the highest pitch of glory ; notwithstanding she had entertained many unreasonable prejudices against him, before she was acquainted with his personal worth and behaviour.

As in his political capacity we have before seen how much he contributed to the establishment of the Protestant interest, and the good of his native country, he was always true to these great ends. His character was uniform and consistent with itself, and his whole conduct of a piece. His principles were founded in reason, and supported by virtue ; and therefore did not lie at the mercy of ambition, avarice, or resentment. His notions were no less steady and unshaken, than just and upright. In a word, he concluded his course among the same well-chosen friendships and alliances, with which he began it.

This great man was not more conspicuous as a patriot and a statesman, than as a person of universal knowledge and learning. As by dividing his time between the publick scenes of business, and the private retirements of life, he took care to keep up both the great and good man ; so by the same means he accomplished himself not only in the knowledge of men and things, but in the skill of the most refined arts and sciences. That unwearied diligence, which followed him through all the stages of his life, gave him such a thorough insight into the laws of the land, that he passed for one of the greatest masters of his profession, at his first appearance in it. Though he made a regular progress through the several honours of the long robe, he was always looked upon as one who deserved a superior station to that he was possessed off ; till he arrived at the highest dignity to which those studies could advance him.

He enjoyed in the highest perfection two talents, which do not often meet in the same person, the greatest strength of good sense, and the most exquisite taste of politeness. Without the first, learning is but an incumbrance ; and without the last, is ungraceful. My lord *Somers* was master of these two qualifications in
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so eminent a degree, that all the parts of knowledge appeared in him with such an additional strength and beauty, as they want in the possession of others. If he delivered his opinion of a piece of poetry, a statue, or a picture, there was something so just and delicate in his observations, as naturally produced pleasure and assent in those who heard him.

His solidity and elegance, improved by the reading of the finest authors both of the learned and modern languages, discovered itself in all his productions. His oratory was masculine and persuasive, free from every thing trivial and affected. His style in writing was chaste and pure, but at the same time full of spirit and politeness; and fit to convey the most intricate business to the understanding of the reader, with the utmost clearness and perspicuity. And here it is to be lamented, that this extraordinary person, out of his natural aversion to vain-glory, wrote several pieces, as well as performed several actions, which he did not assume the honour of: Though at the same time so many works of this nature have appeared, which every one has ascribed to him, that I believe no author of the greatest eminence would deny my lord *Somers* to have been the best writer of the age in which he lived.

This noble lord, for the great extent of his knowledge and capacity, has been often compared with the lord *Verulam*, who had also been chancellor of *England*. But the conduct of these two extraordinary persons, under the same circumstances, was vastly different. They were both impeached by a house of commons. One of them, as he had given just occasion for it, sunk under it; and was reduced to such an abject submission, as very much diminished the lustre of so exalted a character: But my lord *Somers* was too well fortified in his integrity to fear the impotence of an attempt upon his reputation; and though his accusers would gladly have dropped their impeachment he was instant with them for the prosecution of it, and would not let that matter rest till it was brought to an issue. For the same virtue and greatness of mind which gave him

him a disregard of fame, made him impatient of an undeserved reproach.

There is no question but this wonderful man will make one of the most distinguished figures in the history of the present age ; but we cannot expect that his merit will shine out in its proper light, since he wrote many things which are not published in his name ; was at the bottom of many excellent counsels, in which he did not appear ; did offices of friendship to many persons, who knew not from whom they were derived ; and performed great services to his country, the glory of which was transferred to others : In short, since he made it his endeavour rather to do worthy actions than to gain an illustrious character.

N^o 40.

Monday, May 7.

*Urit enim fulgore suo qui praegravat artes
Infra se positas : extinctus amabitur idem.* HOR,

IT requires no small degree of resolution, to be an author in a country so facetious and satirical as this of *Great Britain*. Such a one raises a kind of alarm among his fellow-subjects, and by pretending to distinguish himself from the herd, becomes a mark of publick censure, and sometimes a standing object of raillery and ridicule. Writing is indeed a provocation to the envious, and an affront to the ignorant. How often do we see a person, whose intentions are visibly to do good by the works which he publishes, treated in as scurrilous a manner, as if he were an enemy to mankind ? All the little scramblers after fame fall upon him, publish every blot in his life, depend upon hear-say to defame him, and have recourse to their own invention, rather than suffer him to erect himself into an author with impunity. Even those who write on the most indifferent subjects, and are

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conversant only in works of taste, are looked upon as men that make a kind of insult upon society, and ought to be humbled as disturbers of the publick tranquillity. Not only the dull and the malicious, which make a formidable party in our island, but the whole fraternity of writers rise up in arms against every new intruder into the world of fame; and a thousand to one, before they have done, prove him not only to be a fool, but a knave. Successful authors do what they can to exclude a competitor, while the unsuccessful with as much eagerness lay in their claim to him as a brother. This natural antipathy to a man who breaks his ranks, and endeavours to signalize his parts in the world, has very probably hindered many persons from making their appearance in print, who might have enriched our country with better productions in all kinds than any that are now extant. The truth of it is, the active part of mankind, as they do most for the good of their contemporaries, very deservedly gain the greatest share in their applauses; while men of speculative endowments, who imploy their talents in writing, as they may equally benefit or amuse succeeding ages, have generally the greatest share in the admiration of posterity. Both good and bad writers may receive great satisfaction from the prospects of futurity; as in after-ages the former will be remembered and the latter forgotten.

Among all sets of authors, there are none who draw upon themselves more displeasure, than those who deal in political matters, which indeed is very often too justly incurred; considering that spirit of rancour and virulence, with which works of this nature generally abound. These are not only regarded as authors, but as partisans, and are sure to exasperate at least one half of their readers. Other writers offend only the stupid or jealous among their countrymen; but these, let their cause be never so just, must expect to irritate a supernumerary party of the self-interested, prejudiced, and ambitious. They may however comfort themselves with considering, that if they gain any unjust reproach from one side, they generally acquire
more

more praise than they deserve from the other ; and that writings, of this kind, if conducted with candour and impartiality, have a more particular tendency to the good of their country, and of the present age, than any other compositions whatsoever.

To consider an author farther, as the subject of obloquy and detraction : We may observe with what pleasure a work is received by the invidious part of mankind, in which a writer falls short of himself, and does not answer the character which he has acquired by his former productions. It is a fine simile in one of Mr. *Congreve's* prologues, which compares a writer to a buttering gamester, that stakes all his winnings upon every cast : so that if he loses the last throw, he is sure to be undone. It would be well for all authors, if, like that gentleman, they knew when to give over, and to desist from any farther pursuits after fame, while they are in the full possession of it. On the other hand, there is not a more melancholy object in the learned world, than a man who has written himself down. As the publick is more disposed to censure than to praise, his readers will ridicule him for his last works, when they have forgot to applaud those which preceded them. In this case, where a man has lost his spirit by old age and infirmity, one could wish that his friends and relations would keep him from the use of pen, ink, and paper, if he is not to be reclaimed by any other methods.

The author indeed often grows old before the man, especially if he treats on subjects of invention, or such as arise from reflection upon human nature : For in this case, neither his own strength of mind, nor those parts of life which are commonly unobserved, will furnish him with sufficient materials to be at the same time both pleasing and voluminous. We find even in the outward dress of poetry, that men who write much without taking breath, very often return to the same phrases and forms of expression, as well as to the same manner of thinking. Authors, who have thus drawn off the spirit of their thoughts, should lie still for some time, till their minds have gathered fresh strength,

strength, and by reading, reflection and conversation, laid in a new stock of elegancies, sentiments and images of nature. The soil, that is worn with too frequent culture must lie fallow for a while, till it has recruited its exhausted salts, and again enriched itself by the ventilations of the air, the dews of heaven, and the kindly influences of the sun.

For my own part, notwithstanding this general malevolence towards those who communicate their thoughts in print, I cannot but look with a friendly regard on such as do it, provided there is no tendency in their writings to vice and profaneness. If the thoughts of such authors have nothing in them, they at least do no harm, and shew an honest industry and a good intention in the Composer. If they teach me any thing I did not know before, I cannot but look upon myself as obliged to the writer, and consider him as my particular benefactor, if he conveys to me one of the greatest gifts that is in the power of man to bestow, an improvement of my understanding, and innocent amusement, or an incentive to some moral virtue. Were not men of abilities thus communicative, their wisdom would be in a great measure useless, and their experience uninstrusive. There would be no business in solitude, nor proper relaxations in business. By these assistances, the retired man lives in the world, if not above it; passion is composed; thought hindered from being barren; and the mind from preying upon itself. That esteem, indeed, which is paid to good writers by their posterity, sufficiently shews the merit of persons who are thus employed. Who does not now more admire *Cicero* as an author, than as a consul of *Rome*! And does not oftner talk of the celebrated writers of our own country, who lived in former ages, than of any other particular persons among their contemporaries and fellow-subjects!

When I consider myself as a *British* free-holder, I am in a particular manner pleased with the labours of those who have improved our language with the translation of old *Latin* and *Greek* authors, and by that means let us into the knowledge of what passed in the famous

famous governments of *Greece* and *Rome*. We have already most of their historians in our own tongue: And what is still more for the honour of our language, it has been taught to express with elegance the greatest of their poets in each nation. The illiterate among our countrymen may learn to judge from *Dryden's Virgil* of the most perfect epic performance: And those parts of *Homer*, which have already been published by Mr. *Pope*, give us reason to think that the *Iliad* will appear in *English* with as little disadvantage to that immortal poem.

There is another author, whom I have long wished to see well translated into *English*, as his work is filled with a spirit of liberty, and more directly tends to raise sentiments of honour and virtue in his reader, than any of the poetical writings of antiquity. I mean the *Pharsalia* of *Lucan*. This is the only author of consideration among the *Latin* poets, who was not explained for the use of the *Dauphin*, for a very obvious reason; because the whole *Pharsalia* would have been no less than a satire upon the *French* form of government. The translation of this author is now in the hands of Mr. *Rowe*, who has already given the world some admirable specimens of it; and not only kept up the fire of the original, but delivered the sentiments with greater perspicuity, and in a finer turn of phrase and verse.

As undertakings of so difficult a nature require the greatest encouragement, one cannot but rejoice to see those general subscriptions which have been made to them; especially since if the two works last mentioned are not finished by those masterly hands, which are now employed in them, we may despair of seeing them attempted by others.





N^o 41. Friday, May 11.

Dissentientis conditionibus

Foodis, et exemplo trahenti

Perniciem veniens in aevum.

HOR.

AS the care of our national commerce redounds more to the riches and prosperity of the publick, than any other act of government, it is pity that we do not see the state of it marked out in every particular reign with greater distinction and accuracy, than what is usual among our *English* historians. We may however observe in general, that the best and wisest of our monarchs have not been less industrious to extend their trade, than their dominions; as it manifestly turns in a much higher degree to the welfare of the people, if not to the glory of the sovereign.

The first of our kings who carried our commerce, and consequently our navigation, to a very great height, was *Edward* the third. This victorious prince, by his many excellent laws for the encouragement of trade, enabled his subjects to support him in his many glorious wars upon the continent, and turned the scale so much in favour of our *English* merchandise, that, by a balance of trade taken in his time, the exported commodities amounted to two hundred ninety-four thousand pounds, and the imported but to thirty-eight thousand.

Those of his successors, under whose regulations our trade flourished most, were *Henry* the seventh and queen *Elizabeth*. As the first of these was for his great wisdom very often stiled the *English Solomon*, he followed the example of that wise king in nothing more, than by advancing the traffick of his people. By this means he reconciled to him the minds of his subjects, strengthened himself in their affections, improved very much the navigation of the kingdom, and repelled the frequent attempts of his enemies.

As for queen *Elizabeth*, she had always the trade of her kingdom very much at heart, and we may observe the effects of it through the whole course of her reign, in the love and obedience of her people, as well as in the defeats and disappointments of her enemies.

It is with great pleasure that we see our present sovereign applying his thoughts so successfully to the advancement of our traffick, and considering himself as the king of a trading island. His majesty has already gained very considerable advantages for his people, and is still employed in concerting schemes and forming treaties, for retrieving and enlarging our privileges in the world of commerce.

I shall only in this paper take notice of the treaty concluded at *Madrid* on the 14th of *December* last, 1715; and by comparing it with that concluded at *Utrecht* on the 9th of *December*, 1713, shew several particulars in which the treaty made with his present majesty is more advantageous to *Great Britain*, than that which was made in the last reign; after this general observation, that it is equally surprizing how so bad a treaty came to be made at the end of a glorious and successful war; and how so good an one has been obtained in the beginning of a reign disturbed by such intestine commotions. But we may learn from hence, that the wisdom of a sovereign, and the integrity of his ministers, are more necessary for bringing about works of such consequence for the publick good, than any juncture of time, or any other the most favourable circumstance.

We must here premise, that by the treaty concluded at *Madrid* in 1667, the duties of importation payable upon the manufactures and products of *Great Britain*, amounted upon the established valuation in the *Spanish* Book of Rates (after the deduction of the *Gratia's*) in *Andalusia* to 11 1-3 per Cent. in *Valentia* to 5 per Cent. and in *Catalonia* to about 7 per Cent. or less; and consequently upon the whole aforesaid trade, those duties could not exceed 10 per Cent. in a medium.

After this short account of the state of our trade with *Spain*, before the treaty of *Utrecht* under the late queen, we must observe, that by the explanatory articles of this

last

last mentioned treaty, the duties of importation upon the products and manufactures of *Great Britain* were augmented in *Andalusia* to 27 1-5 per Cent. at a medium.

But by the late treaty made with his present majesty at *Madrid*, the said duties are again reduced according to the aforesaid treaty of 1667: And the deduction of the Gratia's is established as an inviolable law, whereas, before, the Gratia's of the farmers particularly were altogether precarious, and depended entirely upon courtesy.

That the common reader may understand the nature of these Gratia's, he must know that when the king of *Spain* had laid higher duties upon our *English* goods, than what the merchants were able or willing to comply with, he used to abate a certain part; which indulgence, or abatement, went under the name of a Gratia. But when he had farmed out these his customs to several of his subjects, the farmers, in order to draw more merchandise to their respective ports, and thereby to increase their own particular profits, used to make new abatements, or Gratia's, to the *British* merchants, endeavouring sometimes to outvy one another in such indulgencies, and by that means to get a greater proportion of custom into their own hands.

But to proceed: The duties on exportation may be computed to be raised by the *Utrecht* treaty, near as much as the foresaid duties of importation: Whereas, by the treaty made with his present majesty, they are reduced to their ancient standard.

Complaint having been made, that the *Spaniards* after the suspension of arms had taken several *New-England* and other *British* ships gathering salt at the island of *Tertuga*, a very full and just report concerning that affair was laid before her late majesty, of which I shall give the reader the following extract:

'Your majesty's subjects have, from the first settlement of the continent of *America*, had a free access to this island; and have without interruptions, unless in time of war, used to take what salt they pleased there: And we have proofs of that usage for above fifty Years, as appears by certificates of persons who have been employed in that trade.

‘ It doth not appear, upon the strictest enquiry, that
 ‘ the *Spaniards* inhabited or ever settled on the said
 ‘ island; nor is it probable they ever did, it being all
 ‘ either barren rock, or dry sand, and having no fresh
 ‘ water or provisions in it.

‘ We take leave to lay before your majesty, the con-
 ‘ sequence of your majesty’s subjects being prohibited
 ‘ to fetch Salt at *Tertuga*; which will in part appear
 ‘ from the number of ships using that trade, being, as
 ‘ we are informed, one year with another, about 100
 ‘ sail.

‘ The salt carried from thence to *New-England* is
 ‘ used chiefly for curing of fish, which is either *Cod*,
 ‘ *Scale-fish*, or *Mackrel*: The former of which is the
 ‘ principal branch of the returns made from the conti-
 ‘ nent of *Great Britain* by way of *Spain*, *Portugal* and
 ‘ the *Straits*, for the woollen and other goods, sent
 ‘ from this kingdom thither. Besides which, the *Scale-*
 ‘ *fish* and *Mackrel* are of such consequence, that the
 ‘ *Sugar Islands* cannot subsist without them, their Ne-
 ‘ groes being chiefly supported by this fish: So that if
 ‘ they were not supplied therewith from *New-England*,
 ‘ (which they cannot be, if your majesty’s subjects are
 ‘ prohibited from getting salt at *Tertuga*) they would
 ‘ not be able to carry on their sugar works. This hath
 ‘ been confirmed to us by several considerable planters
 ‘ concerned in those parts.

‘ Upon the whole, your majesty’s subjects having
 ‘ enjoyed an uninterrupted usage of gathering salt at
 ‘ *Tertuga* ever since the first settlement of the continent
 ‘ as aforesaid, we humbly submit to your majesty the
 ‘ consequence of preserving that usage and right upon
 ‘ which the trade of your majesty’s plantations so much
 ‘ depends.’

Notwithstanding it appears from what is above-writ-
 ten, that our *Sugar Islands* were like to suffer conside-
 rably for want of fish from *New-England*, no care was
 taken to have this matter remedied by the explanatory
 articles, which were posterior to the above-mentioned
 report.

However in the third article of the treaty made with
 his

his present majesty, this business is fully settled to our advantage.

The *British* merchants having had several hardships put upon them at *Bilboa*, which occasioned the decay of our trade at that place, the said merchants did make and execute in the year 1700, a treaty of privileges with the magistrates and inhabitants of *St. Ander*, very much to the advantage of this kingdom, in order to their removing and settling there: The effect of which was prevented by the death of king *Charles* the second of *Spain*, and the war which soon after ensued. This matter, it seems, was slighted or neglected by the managers of the *Utrecht* treaty: For, by the 14th article of that treaty, there is only a liberty given to the *British* subjects to settle and dwell at *St. Ander*, upon the terms of the 9th and 30th articles of the treaty of 1667, which are general. But no regard was had to the forementioned treaty of privileges in 1700; whereas by the second article of the treaty now made with his present majesty, the forementioned treaty of privileges with *St. Ander* is confirmed and ratified.

Another considerable advantage is, that the *French*, by the treaty made with his present majesty, are to pay the same duties at the *Dry-Ports*, through which they pass by land-carriage, as we pay upon importation or exportation by sea; which was not provided for by the *Utrecht* treaty.

By the *Schedula's* annexed to the treaty of 1667, the valuable privilege of having judge-conservators (appointed to make a more speedy and less expensive determination of all controversies arising in trade) was fully established. But by the 15th article of *Utrecht* that privilege was in effect given up. For it is therein only stipulated, *That in case any other nation have that privilege, we shall in like manner enjoy it.* But by the 5th article of the treaty now made with his present majesty it is stipulated, that we shall enjoy all the rights, privileges, franchises, exemptions, and immunities whatsoever, which we enjoyed by virtue of the royal *Schedula's* or ordinances by the treaty of 1677. So that hereby the privilege of judge-conservators is again confirmed to us.

As nothing but the reputation of his majesty in foreign countries, and of his fixed purposes to pursue the real good of his kingdoms, could bring about treaties of this nature: So it is impossible to reflect with patience on the folly and ingratitude of those men, who labour to disturb him in the midst of these his royal cares, and to misrepresent his generous endeavours for the good of his people.

N^o 42.

Monday, May 14.

O fortunatos mercatores! ———

HOR.

SEVERAL authors have written on the advantage of trade in general; which is indeed so copious a subject, that as it is impossible to exhaust it in a short discourse, so it is very difficult to observe any thing new upon it. I shall, therefore, only consider trade in this paper, as it is absolutely necessary and essential to the safety, strength and prosperity of our own nation.

In the first place, as we are an island accommodated on all sides with convenient ports, and encompassed with navigable seas, we should be inexcusable, if we did not make these blessings of providence and advantages of nature turn to their proper account. The most celebrated merchants in the world, and those who make the greatest figure in antiquity, were situated in the little island of *Tyre*, which, by the prodigious increase of its wealth and strength at sea, did very much influence the most considerable kingdoms and empires on the neighbouring continent, and gave birth to the *Carthaginians*, who afterwards exceeded all other nations in naval power. The old *Tyre* was indeed seated on the continent, from whence the inhabitants, after having been besieged by the great king of *Affyria* for the space of thirteen years, withdrew themselves and their effects into the

the island of *Tyre*, where by the benefit of such a situation, a trading people were enabled to hold out for many ages against the attempts of their enemies, and became the merchants of the world.

Farther ; as an island, we are accessible on every side, and exposed to perpetual invasions ; against which it is impossible to fortify ourselves sufficiently, without such a power at sea, as is not to be kept up, but by a people who flourish in commerce. To which we must add, that our inland towns being destitute of fortifications, it is our indispensable concern to preserve this our naval strength, which is as a general bulwark to the *British* nation.

Besides ; as an island, it has not been thought agreeable to the true *British* policy to make acquisitions upon the continent. In lieu, therefore, of such an increase of dominion, it is our business to extend to the utmost our trade and navigation. By this means we reap the advantages of conquest, without violence or injustice ; we not only strengthen ourselves, but gain the wealth of our neighbours in an honest way ; and, without any act of hostility, lay the several nations of the world under a kind of contribution.

Secondly, Trade is fitted to the nature of our country, as it abounds with a great profusion of commodities of its own growth very convenient for other countries, and is naturally destitute of many things suited to the exigences, ornaments and pleasures of life, which may be fetched from foreign parts. But, that which is more particularly to be remarked, our *British* products are of such kinds and quantities, as can turn the balance of trade to our advantage, and enable us to sell more to foreigners, than we have occasion to buy from them.

To this we must add, that by extending a well-regulated trade, we are as great gainers by the commodities of many other countries, as by those of our own nation ; and by supplying foreign markets with the growth and manufactures of the most distant regions, we receive the same profit from them, as if they were the produce of our own island.

Thirdly, We are not a little obliged to trade, as it has been a great means of civilizing our nation, and
banishing

banishing out of it all the remains of its ancient barbarity. There are many bitter sayings against islanders in general, representing them as fierce, treacherous, and inhospitable. Those who live on the continent have such opportunities of a frequent intercourse with men of different religions and languages, and who live under different laws and governments, that they become more kind, benevolent, and open-hearted to their fellow-creatures, than those who are the inhabitants of an island, that hath not such conversations with the rest of the species. *Caesar's* observation upon our fore-fathers is very much to our present purpose; who remarks, That those of them that lived upon the coast, or in sea-port towns, were much more civilized, than those who had their dwellings in the inland country, by reason of frequent communications with their neighbours on the continent.

In the last place, trade is absolutely necessary for us, as our country is very populous. It employs multitudes of hands both by sea and land, and furnishes the poorest of our fellow-subjects with the opportunities of gaining an honest livelihood. The skilful or industrious find their account in it: And many, who have no fixed property in the soil of our country, can make themselves masters of as considerable estates, as those who have the greatest portions of the land descending to them by inheritance.

If what has been often charged upon us by our neighbours has any truth in it, That we are prone to sedition, and delight in change, there is no cure more proper for this evil than trade, which thus supplies business to the active, and wealth to the indigent. When men are easy in their circumstances, they are naturally enemies to innovations: And indeed we see in the course of our *English* histories, many of our popular commotions have taken their rise from the decay of some branch of commerce, which created discontents among persons concerned in the manufactures of the kingdom. When men are tormented with poverty, and unemployed, they easily give into any prospect of change, which may better their condition, and cannot make it much worse.

Since

Since therefore it is manifest, that the promoting of our trade and commerce is necessary and essential to our security and strength, our peace and prosperity, it is our particular happiness to see a monarch on the throne, who is sensible of the true interest of his kingdoms, and applies himself with so much success to the advancement of our national commerce.

The reader may see, in my last paper, the advantages which his majesty has gained for us in our *Spanish* trade. In this, I shall give a short account of those procured for us from the *Austrian* Low-countries, by virtue of the 26th article of the Barrier Treaty made at *Antwerp* the 15th of *November* last.

This branch of our trade was regulated by a *Tariff*, or declaration of the duties of import and export in the year 1670, which was superseded by another made in 1680, that continued till this last *Tariff* settled in 1715 with his present majesty. As for the two former, those who are at the pains of perusing them will find the *Tariff* of 1670 laid higher duties on several considerable branches of our trade, than that of 1680, but in many particulars was more favourable to us than the latter. Now, by the present *Tariff* of 1715, these duties are fixed and regulated for the future by those which were most favourable in either of the former *Tariffs*: And all our products and manufactures (one only excepted, which I shall name by and by) settled upon rather an easier foot than ever.

Our woollen cloths, being the most profitable branch of our trade into these countries, have by this means gained a very considerable advantage. For the *Tariff* of 1680 having laid higher duties upon the finer sorts, and lower duties on ordinary cloth, than what were settled in the *Tariff* of 1670, his majesty has, by the present treaty, reduced the duties on the finer sorts to the *Tariff* of 1670, and confirmed the duties on ordinary cloth according to the *Tariff* of 1680. Insomuch that this present *Tariff* of 1715, considered with relation to this valuable part of our trade, reduces the duties at least one sixth part, supposing the exportation of all sorts to be equal. But as there is always a much greater

exportation of the ordinary cloth, than of the finer sorts, the reduction of these duties becomes still much more considerable.

We must farther observe, that there had been several innovations made to the detriment of the *English* merchants since the *Tariff* of 1680; all which innovations are now entirely set aside upon every species of goods, except butter, which is here particularly mentioned, because we cannot be too minute and circumstantial in accounts of this nature. This article however is moderated, and is rated in proportion to what has been, and is still to be, paid by the *Dutch*.

As our commerce with the *Netherlands* is thus settled to the advantage of our *British* merchants, so is it much to their satisfaction: And if his majesty, in the several succeeding parts of his reign (which we hope may be many years prolonged) should advance our commerce in the same proportion as he has already done, we may expect to see it in a more flourishing condition, than under any of his royal ancestors. He seems to place his greatness in the riches and prosperity of his people; and what may we not hope from him in a time of quiet and tranquillity? since, during the late distractions, he has done so much for the advantage of our trade, when we could not reasonably expect he should have been able to do any thing.



No 43. Friday, May 18.

*Hoc fonte derivata ciades
In patriam populumque fluxit.*

HOR.

ONE would wonder how any person endowed with the ordinary principles of prudence and humanity, should desire to be king of a country, in which the established religion is directly opposite

site to that which he himself professes. Were it possible for such a one to accomplish his designs, his own reason must tell him, there could not be a more uneasy prince, nor a more unhappy people. But how it can enter into the wishes of any private persons to be the subjects of a man, whose faith obliges him to use the most effectual means for extirpating their religion, is altogether incomprehensible, but upon the supposition that whatever principles they seem to adhere to, their interest, ambition, or revenge, is much more active and predominant in their minds, than the love of their country, or of its national worship.

I have never heard of any one particular benefit which either the *Pretender* himself, or the favourers of his cause, could promise to the *British* nation from the success of his pretensions; though the evils which would arise from it, are numberless and evident. These men content themselves with one general assertion which often appears in their writings, and in their discourse, That the kingdom will never be quiet till he is upon the throne. If by this position is meant, that those will never be quiet who would endeavour to place him there, it may possibly have some truth in it; though we hope even these will be reduced to their obedience by the care of their safety, if not by the sense of their duty. But on the other side, how ineffectual would this strange expedient be, for establishing the publick quiet and tranquillity, should it ever take place! for, by way of argument, we may suppose impossibilities. Would that party of men which comprehends the most wealthy, and the most valiant, of the kingdom, and which, were the cause put to a trial, would undoubtedly appear the most numerous, (for I am far from thinking all those who are distinguished by the name of *Tories*, to be favourers of the *Pretender*) can we, I say, suppose these men would live quiet under a reign which they have hitherto opposed, and from which they apprehend such a manifest destruction to their country? Can we suppose our present royal family, who are so powerful in foreign dominions, so strong in their relations and alliances, and so universally supported by the Protestant

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interest of *Europe*, would continue quiet, and not make vigorous and repeated attempts for the recovery of their right, should it ever be wrested out of their hands? Can we imagine that our *British* clergy would be quiet under a prince, who is zealous for his religion, and obliged by it to subvert those doctrines, which it is their duty to defend and propagate? Nay would any of those men themselves, who are the champions of this desperate cause, unless such of them as are professed Roman-Catholicks, or disposed to be so, live quiet under a government which at the best would make use of all indirect methods in favour of a religion, that is inconsistent with our laws and liberties, and would impose on us such a yoke, as neither we nor our fathers were able to bear? All the quiet that could be expected from such a reign, must be the result of absolute power on the one hand, and a despicable slavery on the other: And I believe every reasonable man will be of the *Roman* historian's opinion, that a disturbed liberty is better than a quiet servitude.

There is not indeed a greater absurdity than to imagine the quiet of a nation can arise from an establishment, in which the king would be of one communion, and the people of another; especially when the religion of the sovereign carries in it the utmost malignity to that of the subject. If any of our *English* monarchs might have hoped to reign quietly under such circumstances, it would have been king *Charles II.*, who was received with all the joy and good-will that are natural to a people, newly rescued from a tyranny which had long oppressed them in several shapes. But this monarch was too wise to own himself a *Roman-Catholic*, even in that juncture of time; or to imagine it practicable for an avowed Popish prince to govern a Protestant people. His brother tried the experiment, and every one knows the success of it.

As speculations are best supported by facts, I shall add to these domestick examples one or two parallel instances out of the *Swedish* history, which may be sufficient to shew us that a scheme of government is impracticable, in which the head does not agree with the body,

body, in that point, which is the greatest concern to reasonable creatures. *Sweden* is the only Protestant kingdom in *Europe*, besides this of *Great Britain*, which has had the misfortune to see Popish princes upon the throne; and we find that they behaved themselves as we did, and as it is natural for men to do, upon the same occasion. Their king *Sigismund* having, contrary to the inclinations of his people, endeavoured by several clandestine methods, to promote the *Roman-Catholick* religion among his subjects, and shewn several marks of favour to their priests and Jesuits, was, after a very short reign, deposed by the states of that kingdom, being represented as one who could neither be held by oaths nor promises, and over-ruled by the influence of his religion, which dispenses with the violation of the most sacred engagements that are opposite to its interests. The states, to shew farther their apprehensions of Popery, and how incompatible they thought the principles of the church of *Rome* in a sovereign were with those of the reform'd religion in his subjects, agreed that his son should succeed to the throne, provided he were brought up a Protestant. This the father seemingly complied with: but afterwards refusing to give him such an education, the son was likewise set aside, and for ever excluded from that succession. The famous queen *Christina*, daughter to the great *Gustavus*, was so sensible of those troubles which would accrue both to herself and her people, should she avow the *Roman-Catholick* religion while she was upon the throne of *Sweden*; that she did not make an open profession of that faith, 'till she had resigned her crown, and was actually upon her journey to *Rome*.

In short, if there be any political maxim, which may be depended upon as sure and infallible, this is one; that it is impossible for a nation to be happy, where a people of the reformed religion are governed by a king that is a Papist. Were he indeed only a nominal *Roman-Catholick*, there might be a possibility of peace and quiet under such a reign; but if he is sincere in the principles of his church, he must treat heretical subjects as that church directs him, and knows very well,

S

that

that he ceases to be religious, when he ceases to be a persecutor.



N^o 44. Monday, May 21.

*Multaque praeterea variarum monstra ferarum
Centauri in foribus stabulant Scyllaeque bifformes,
Et centum-geminus Briareus, ac bellua Lernaë
Horrendum stridens, flammisque armata Chimaera,
Gorgones, Harpyaeque, et forma tricornis umbræ.
Corripit hic subita trepidus formidine ferrum
Æneas, strictamque aciem venientibus offert.
Et, ni docta comes tennes sine corpore vitas
Admoneat volitare cava sub imagine formæ,
Irruat, et frustra ferro diverberet umbras. VIRG.*

AS I was last Friday taking a walk in the park, I saw a country gentleman at the side of Rosamond's pond, pulling a handful of oats out of his pocket, and with a great deal of pleasure, gathering the ducks about him. Upon my coming up to him, who should it be but my friend the fox-hunter, whom I gave some account of in my 22d paper? I immediately joined him, and partook of his diversion, till he had not an oat left in his pocket. We then made the tour of the park together, when after having entertained me with the description of a decoy-pond that lay near his seat in the country, and of a meeting-house that was going to be re-built in a neighbouring market-town, he gave me an account of some very odd adventures which he had met with that morning; and which I shall lay together in a short and faithful history, as well as memory will give me leave.

My friend, who has a natural aversion to London, would never have come up, had not he been subpoena'd to it, as he told me, in order to give his testimony for one of the rebels, whom he knew to be a very fair sportsman.

man. Having travelled all night, to avoid the inconveniencies of dust and heat, he arrived with his guide, a little after break of day, at *Charing-Cross*; where, to his great surprize, he saw a running footman carried in a chair, followed by a water-man in the same kind of vehicle. He was wondering at the extravagancies of their masters, that furnished them with such dresses and accommodations, when on a sudden he beheld a chimney-sweeper, convey'd after the same manner, with three footmen running before him. During his progress through the *Strand*, he met with several other figures no less wonderful and surprizing. Seeing a great many in rich morning-gowns, he was amazed to find that persons of quality were up so early: And was no less astonished to see many lawyers in their bar-gowns, when he knew by his almanack the term was ended. As he was extremely puzzled and confounded in himself what all this should mean, a hackney-coach chancing to pass by him, four *Batts* popp'd out their heads all at once, which very much frightened both him and his horse. My friend, who always takes care to cure his horse of such starting fits, spurred him up to the very side of the coach, to the no small diversion of the *Batts*; who, seeing him with his long whip, horse-hair perriwig, jockey belt, and coat without sleeves, fancied him to be one of the masqueraders on horseback, and received him with a loud peal of laughter. His mind being full of idle stories, which are spread up and down the nation by the disaffected, he immediately concluded that all the persons he saw in these strange habits were foreigners, and conceived a great indignation against them, for pretending to laugh at an *English* country-gentleman. But he soon recovered out of his error, by hearing the voices of several of them, and particularly of a shepherdess quarrelling with her coachman, and threatening to break his bones in very intelligible *English*, though with a masculine tone. His astonishment still increased upon him, to see a continued procession of Harlequins, Scaramouches, Punchinello's, and a thousand other merry dresses, by which people of quality distinguish their wit from that of the vulgar.

Being now advanced as far as *Somerſet-Houſe*, and obſerving it to be the great hive whence this ſwarm of chimeras iſſued forth from time to time, my friend took his ſtation among a cluster of mob, who were making themſelves merry with their betters. The firſt that came out, was a very venerable matron, with a noiſe and chin, that were within a very little of touching one another. My friend, at the firſt view fancying her to be an old woman of quality, out of his good breeding put off his hat to her, when the perſon pulling off her maſque, to his great ſurprize, appeared a ſmock-fac'd young fellow. His attention was ſoon taken off from this object, and turned to another that had very hollow eyes and a wrinkled face, which flouriſhed in all the bloom of fifteen. The whiteness of the lily was blended in it with the bluſh of the roſe. He miſtook it for a whimſical kind of maſque; but upon a nearer view he found that ſhe held her vizard in her hand, and that what he ſaw was only her natural countenance, touched up with the uſual improvements of an aged coquette.

The next who ſhewed herſelf was a female Quaker, ſo very pretty, that he could not forbear licking his lips, and ſaying to the mob about him, *'Tis ten thouſand pities ſhe is not a Church-woman*. The Quaker was followed by half a dozen nuns, who filed off one after another up *Katharine-ſtreet*, to their reſpective convents in *Drury-Lane*.

The ſquire obſerving the preciſeneſs of their dreſs, began now to imagine after all, that this was a neſt of ſectaries; for he had often heard that the town was full of them. He was confirmed in this opinion upon ſeeing a conjurer, whom he gueſſed to be the holder-forth. However, to ſatisfy himſelf, he aſked a porter, who ſtood next him, what religion theſe people were of? The porter reply'd, *They are of no religion; 'tis a maſquerade*. Upon that, ſays my friend, I began to ſmoke that they were a parcel of mummers; and being himſelf one of the quorum in his own county, could not but wonder that none of the *Middleſex* juſtices took care to lay ſome of them by the heels. He was the more

more provoked in the spirit of magistracy, upon discovering two very unseemly objects: The first was a judge, who rapp'd out a great oath at his footman; and the other a big-belly'd woman, who upon taking a leap into the coach, miscarry'd of a cushion. What still gave him greater offence was a drunken bishop, who reeled from one side of the court to the other, and was very sweet upon an *Indian* queen. But his worship, in the midst of his austerity, was mollify'd at the sight of a very lovely milk-maid, whom he began to regard with an eye of mercy, and conceived a particular affection for her, 'till he found, to his great amazement, that the standers-by suspected her to be a dutchess.

I must not conclude this narrative without mentioning one disaster which happened to my friend on this occasion. Having for his better convenience dismounted, and mixed among the croud, he found upon his arrival at the inn, that he had lost his purse and almack. And though 'tis no wonder such a trick should be played him by some of the curious spectators, he cannot beat it out of his head, but that it was a cardinal who picked his pocket, and that this cardinal was a Presbyterian in disguise.



NO 45. Friday, May 25.

Nimium risus pretium est si probitatis impendio constat.
QUINTIL.

I HAVE lately read, with much pleasure, the essays upon several subjects published by Sir *Richard Blackmore*; and though I agree with him in many of his excellent observations, I cannot but take that reasonable freedom, which he himself makes use of, with regard to other writers, to dissent for him in some few particulars. In his reflections upon works of wit and humour, he observes how unequal they are to combat

bat vice and folly; and seems to think, that the finest raillery and satire, though directed by these generous views, never reclaimed one vicious man, or made one fool depart from his folly.

This is a position very hard to be contradicted, because no author knows the number or names of his converts. As for the *Tatlers* and *Spectators* in particular, which are obliged to this ingenious and useful author for the character he has given of them, they were so generally dispersed in single sheets, and have since been printed in so great numbers, that it is to be hoped they have made some proselytes to the interest, if not to the practice of wisdom and virtue, among such a multitude of readers.

I need not remind this learned gentleman, that *Socrates*, who was the greatest propagator of morality in the Heathen world, and a martyr for the unity of the Godhead, was so famous for the exercise of this talent among the politest people of antiquity, that he gained the name of (*ὁ ἑρπύων*) *the Drole*.

There are very good effects which visibly arose from the above-mentioned performances, and others of the like nature; as, in the first place, they diverted raillery from proper objects, and gave a new turn to ridicule, which for many years had been exerted on persons and things of a sacred and serious nature. They endeavoured to make mirth instructive, and if they failed in this great end, they must be allowed at least to have made it innocent. If wit and humour began again to relapse into their former licentiousness, they can never hope for approbation from those who know that raillery is useless when it has no moral under it, and pernicious when it attacks any thing that is either unblameable or praise-worthy. To this we may add, what has been commonly observed, that it is not difficult to be merry on the side of vice, as serious objects are the most capable of ridicule; as the party, which naturally favour such a mirth, is the most numerous; and as there are the most standing jests and patterns for imitation in this kind of writing.

In the next place: Such productions of wit and humour,

mour, as have a tendency to expose vice and folly, furnish useful diversions to all kinds of readers. The good or prudent man may, by these means, be diverted without prejudice to his discretion, or morality. Raillery, under such regulations, unbends the mind from serious studies and severer contemplations, without throwing it off from its proper bias. It carries on the same design that is promoted by authors of a graver turn, and only does it in another manner. It also awakens reflection in those who are the most indifferent in the cause of virtue or knowledge, by setting before them the absurdity of such practices as are generally unobserved, by reason of their being common or fashionable: Nay, it sometimes catches the dissolute and abandoned before they are aware of it: who are often betrayed to laugh at themselves, and upon reflection find, that they are merry at their own expence. I might farther take notice, that by entertainments of this kind, a man may be chearful in solitude, and not be forced to seek for company every time he has a mind to be merry.

The last advantage I shall mention from compositions of this nature when thus restrained, is, that they shew wisdom and virtue are far from being inconsistent with politeness and good humour. They make morality appear amiable to people of gay dispositions, and refute the common objection against religion, which represents it as only fit for gloomy and melancholy tempers. It was the motto of a bishop very eminent for his piety and good works in king *Charles* the second's reign, *Infervi Deo et laetare, Serve God and be chearful*. Those therefore who supply the world with such entertainments of mirth as are instructive, or at least harmless, may be thought to deserve well of mankind; to which I shall only add, that they retrieve the honour of polite learning, and answer those four Enthusiasts who affect to stigmatize the finest and most elegant authors, both ancient and modern (which they have never read) as dangerous to religion, and destructive of all sound and saving knowledge.

Our nation are such lovers of mirth and humour, that it is impossible for detached papers, which come
out

out on stated days, either to have a general run, or long continuance, if they are not diversified, and enlivened from time to time, with subjects and thoughts, accommodated to this taste, which so prevails among our countrymen. No periodical author, who always maintains his gravity, and does not sometimes sacrifice to the Graces, must expect to keep in vogue for any considerable time. Political speculations in particular, however just and important, are of so dry and austere a nature, that they will not go down with the publick without frequent seasonings of this kind. The work may be well performed, but will never take, if it is not set off with proper scenes and decorations. A mere politician is but a dull companion, and, if he is always wise, is in great danger of being tiresome or ridiculous.

Besides, papers of entertainment are necessary to increase the number of readers, especially among those of different notions and principles; who by this means may be betrayed to give you a fair hearing, and to know what you have to say for yourself. I might likewise observe, that in all political writings there is something that grates upon the mind of the most candid reader, in opinions which are not conformable to his own way of thinking; and that the harshness of reasoning is not a little softened and smoothed by the infusions of mirth and pleasantry.

Political speculations do likewise furnish us with several objects that may very innocently be ridiculed, and which are regarded as such by men of sense in all parties; of this kind are the passions of our states-women, and the reasonings of our fox-hunters.

A writer who makes fame the chief end of his endeavours, and would be more desirous of pleasing than of improving his readers, might find an inexhaustible fund of mirth in politicks. Scandal and Satire are never-failing gratifications to the publick. Detraction and Obloquy are received with as much eagerness as Wit and Humour. Should a writer single out particular persons, or point his raillery at any order of men, who by their profession ought to be exempt from it; should he slander the innocent, or satirize the miserable; or
should

should he, even on the proper subjects of derision, give the full play to his mirth, without regard to decency and good manners ; he might be sure of pleasing a great part of his readers, but must be a very ill man, if by such a proceeding he could please himself.



Nº 46. Monday, May 28.

————— *male inominatis*

Parcite verbis :

Hic dies, vere mihi festus, atras

Eximet curas ; ego nec tumultum

Nec mori per vim metuam, tenente

Caesare terras.

HOR.

THE usual salutation to a man upon his birthday among the ancient Romans was *Multos et Foelices* ; in which they wished him many happy returns of it. When *Augustus* celebrated the secular year, which was kept but once in a Century, and received the congratulations of his people on that account, an eminent court-wit saluted him in the birthday form (*Multos et Foelices*) which is recorded as a beautiful turn of compliment, expressing a desire that he might enjoy a happy life of many hundreds of years. This salutation cannot be taxed with flattery, since it was directed to a prince, of whom it is said by a great historian, *It had been happy for Rome, if he had never been born, or if he had never died.* Had he never been born, *Rome* would, in all probability, have recovered its former liberty : Had he never died, it would have been more happy under his government, than it could have been in the possession of its ancient freedom.

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It is our good fortune that our sovereign, whose nativity is celebrated on this day, gives us a prospect, which the *Romans* wanted under the reign of their *Augustus*, of his being succeeded by an heir, both to his virtues and his dominions. In the mean time it happens very luckily, for the establishment of a new race of kings upon the *British* throne, that the first of this royal line has all those high qualifications which are necessary to fix the crown upon his own head, and to transmit it to his posterity. We may indeed observe, that every series of kings who have kept up the succession in their respective families, in spite of all pretensions and oppositions formed against them, has been headed by princes famous for valour and wisdom. I need only mention the names of *William the Conqueror*, *Henry II.* *Henry IV.* *Edward IV.* and *Henry VII.* As for king *James I.* the founder of the *Stuart* race, had he been as well turned for the camp, as the cabinet, and not confined all his views to the peace and tranquillity of his own reign, his son had not been involved in such fatal troubles and confusions.

Were an honest *Briton* to wish for a sovereign, who in the present situation of affairs would be most capable of advancing our national happiness, what could he desire more than a prince mature in wisdom and experience; renowned for his valour and resolution; successful and fortunate in his undertakings; zealous for the reformed religion; related or allied to all the most considerable Protestant powers of *Europe*; and blest with a numerous issue! A failure in any one of these particulars has been the cause of infinite calamities to the *British* nation, but when they all thus happily concur in the same person, they are as much as can be suggested, even by our wishes, for making us a happy people, so far as the qualifications of a monarch can contribute to it.

I shall not attempt a character of his present majesty, having already given an imperfect sketch of it in my second paper; but shall choose rather to observe that cruel treatment which this excellent prince has met with from the tongues and pens of some of his disaffected subjects,

subjects. The baseness, ingratitude, and injustice of which practice will appear to us, if we consider,

First, that it reflects highly upon the good sense of the *British* nation, who do not know how to set a just value upon a prince, whose virtues have gained him the universal esteem of foreign countries. Those potentates who, as some may suppose, do not wish well to his affairs, have shewn the greatest respect to his personal character, and testified their readiness to enter into such friendships and alliances as may be advantageous to his people. The Northern kings solicit him with impatience to come among them, as the only person capable of settling the several claims and pretensions, which have produced such unspeakable calamities in that part of the world. Two of the most remote and formidable powers of *Europe* have entertained thoughts of submitting their disputes to his arbitration. Every one knows his ancient subjects had such a long experience of his sovereign virtues, that at his departure from them his whole people were in tears; which were answered with all those sentiments of humanity, that arise in the heart of a good prince on so moving an occasion. What a figure therefore must we make among mankind, if we are the only people of *Europe* who derogate from his merit, that may be made happy by it! and if in a kingdom which is grown glorious by the reputation of such a sovereign, there are multitudes who would endeavour to lessen and undervalue it.

In the next place; such a treatment from any part of our fellow-subjects, is by no means answerable to what we receive from his majesty. His love and regard for our constitution is so remarkable, that, as we are told by those whose office it is to lay the business of the nation before him, it is his first question, upon any matter of the least doubt or difficulty, whether it be in every point according to the laws of the land? He is easy of access to those who desire it, and is so gracious in his behaviour and condescension on such occasions, that none of his subjects retire from his presence without the greatest idea of his wisdom and goodness.

ness. His continued application to such publick affairs as may conduce to the benefit of his kingdoms, diverts him from those pleasures and entertainments which may be indulged by persons in a lower station, and are pursued with eagerness by princes who have not the care of the publick so much at heart. The least return, which we can make to such a sovereign, is that tribute which is always paid by honest men, and is always acceptable to great minds, the praise and approbation that are due to a virtuous and noble character. Common decency forbids opprobrious language, even to a bad prince; and common justice will exact from us, towards a good prince, the same benevolence and humanity with which he treats his subjects. Those who are influenced by duty and gratitude, will rise much higher in all the expressions of affection and respect, and think they can never do too much to advance the glory of a sovereign, who takes so much pains to advance their happiness.

When we have a king, who has gained the reputation of the most unblemished probity and honour, and has been famed through the whole course of his life, for an inviolable adherence to his promises, we may acquiesce (after his many solemn declarations) in all those measures which it is impossible for us to judge rightly of, unless we were let into such schemes of council and intelligence as produce them; and therefore we should rather turn our thoughts upon the reasonableness of his proceedings, than busy ourselves to form objections against them. The consideration of his majesty's character should at all times suppress our censure of his conduct; and since we have never yet seen, or heard of any false steps in his behaviour, we ought in justice to think, that he governs himself by his usual rules of wisdom and honour, till we discover something to the contrary.

These considerations ought to reconcile to his majesty the hearts and tongues of all his people: But as for those who are the obstinate, irreclaimable, professed enemies to our present establishment, we must expect their calumnies will not only continue, but rise against

gainst him in proportion as he pursues such measures as are likely to prove successful, and ought to recommend him to his people.



N^o 47. Friday, June 1.

— *cessit furor, et rabida ora quierunt.* VIRG.

I QUESTION not but most of my readers will be very well pleased to hear that my friend the fox-hunter, of whose arrival in town I gave notice in my 44th paper, is become a convert to the present establishment, and a good subject to king *GEORGE*. The motives to his conversion shall be the subject of this paper, as they may be of use to other persons who labour under those prejudices and prepossessions, which hung so long upon the mind of my worthy friend. These I had an opportunity of learning the other day, when, at his request, we took a ramble together to see the curiosities of this great town.

The first circumstance, as he ingenuously confessed to me (while we were in the coach together) which helped to disabuse him, was seeing king *Charles I.* on horseback, at *Charing-Cross*; for he was sure that prince could never have kept his seat there, had the stories been true he had heard in the country, that *farty one* was come about again.

He owned to me that he looked with horror on the new church that is half built in the *Strand*, as taking it at first sight to be half demolished: But upon enquiring of the workmen, was agreeably surprized to find, that instead of pulling it down, they were building it up; and that fifty more were raising in other parts of the town.

To these I must add a third circumstance, which I find had no small share in my friend's conversion.

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Since his coming to town, he chanced to look into the church of *St. Paul*, about the middle of sermon time, where having first examined the dome, to see if it stood safe, (for the lord mayor, aldermen, and city-sword were a part of the congregation. This sight had the more weight with him, as by good luck not above two of that venerable body were fallen asleep.

This discourse held us till we came to the tower; for our first visit was to the lions. My friend, who had a great deal of talk with their keeper, enquired very much after their health, and whether none of them had fallen sick upon the taking of *Perth*, and the flight of the *Pretender*? and hearing they were never better in their lives, I found he was extremely startled: For he had learned from his cradle, that the lions in the tower were the best judges of the title of our *British* kings, and always sympathized with our sovereigns.

After having here satiated our curiosity, we repaired to the *Monument*, where my fellow-traveller, being a well-breathed man, mounted the ascent with much speed and activity. I was forced to halt so often in this perpendicular march, that, upon my joining him on the top of the pillar, I found he had counted all the steeples and towers which were discernible from this advantageous situation, and was endeavouring to compute the number of acres they stood upon. We were both of us very well pleased with this part of the prospect; but I found he cast an evil eye upon several ware-houses, and other buildings, that looked like barns, and seemed capable of receiving great multitudes of people. His heart misgave him that these were so many meeting-houses, but, upon communicating his suspicions to me, I soon made him easy in this particular.

We then turned our eyes upon the river, which gave me an occasion to inspire him with some favourable thoughts of trade and merchandize, that had filled the *Thames* with such crouds of ships, and covered the shore with such swarms of people.

We descended very leisurely, my friend being careful

ful to count the steps, which he register'd in a blank leaf of his new almanack. Upon our coming to the bottom, observing an *English* inscription upon the basis, he read it over several times, and told me he could scarce believe his own eyes, for that he had often heard from an old attorney, who lived near him in the country, that it was the Presbyterians who burned down the city; whereas, says he, the pillar positively affirms in so many words, that *the burning of this ancient city was begun and carried on by the treachery and malice of the Popish faction, in order to the carrying on their horrid plot for extirpating the Protestant religion, and old English liberty, and introducing Popery and Slavery.* This account, which he looked upon to be more authentick, than if it had been in print, I found, made a very great impression upon him.

We now took coach again, and made the best of our way for the *Royal Exchange*, though I found he did not so much care to venture himself into the throng of that place; for he told me he had heard they were generally speaking, Republicans, and was afraid of having his pocket picked amongst them. But he soon conceived a better opinion of them, when he spied the statue of king *Charles II.* standing up in the middle of the croud, and most of the kings in *Baker's* chronicle ranged in order over their heads; from whence he very justly concluded, that an antimonarchical assembly could never choose such a place to meet in once a day.

To continue this good disposition in my friend, after a short stay at *Stocks-market*, we drove away directly for the *Meuse*, where he was not a little edified with the sight of those fine sets of horses which have been brought over from *Hanover*, and with the care that is taken of them. He made many good remarks upon this occasion, and was so pleased with his company, that I had much ado to get him out of the stable.

In our progress to *St. James's-Park* (for that was the end of our journey) he took notice, with great satisfaction, that contrary to his intelligence in the

country, the shops were all open and full of business; that the soldiers walked civilly in the streets; that clergymen, instead of being affronted, had generally the wall given them; and that he had heard the bells ring to prayers from morning to night, in some part of the town or another.

As he was full of these honest reflections, it happened very luckily for us, that one of the king's coaches passed by with the three young princesses in it, whom by an accidental stop we had an opportunity of surveying for some time: My friend was ravished with the beauty, innocence, and sweetness, that appeared in all their faces. He declared several times that they were the finest children he had ever seen in all his life; and assured me that, before this sight, if any one had told him it had been possible for three such pretty children to have been born out of *England*, he should never have believed them.

We were now walking together in the park, and as it is usual for men who are naturally warm and heady, to be transported with the greatest flush of good-nature when they are once sweetned; he owned to me very frankly, he had been much imposed upon by those false accounts of things he had heard in the country; and that he would make it his business, upon his return thither, to set his neighbours right, and give them a more just notion of the present state of affairs.

What confirmed my friend in this excellent temper of mind, and gave him an inexpressible satisfaction was a message he received as we were walking together, from the prisoner for whom he had given his testimony in his late trial. This person having been condemned for his part in the late rebellion, sent him word that his majesty had been graciously pleased to relieve him, with several of his friends, in order, as it was thought, to give them their lives; and that he hoped before he went out of town they should have a cheerful meeting, and drink health and prosperity to king *George*.

Monday,



N^o 48. Monday, June 4.

Tu tamen, si habes aliquam spem de republica sive desperas; ea para, meditare, cogita, quae esse in eo cive ac viro debent, qui sit rempublicam afflictam et oppressam miseris temporibus ac perditis moribus in veterem dignitatem ac libertatem vindicaturus. CICERO.

THE condition of a minister of state is only suited to persons, who, out of a love to their king and country, desire rather to be useful to the publick, than easy to themselves. When a man is posted in such a station, whatever his behaviour may be, he is sure, beside the natural fatigue and trouble of it, to incur the envy of some, and the displeasure of others; as he will have many rivals, whose ambition he cannot satisfy, and many dependents whose wants he cannot provide for. These are misfortunes inseparable from such publick employments in all countries; but there are several others which hang upon this condition of life in our *British* government, more than any other sovereignty in *Europe*: As in the first place, there is no other nation which is so equally divided into two opposite parties, whom it is impossible to please at the same time. Our notions of the publick good, with relation both to ourselves and foreigners, are of so different a nature, that those measures which are extolled by one half of the kingdom, are naturally decryed by the other. Besides, that in a *British* administration, many acts of government are absolutely necessary, in which one of the parties must be favoured and obliged, in opposition to their antagonists. So that the most perfect administration, conducted by the most consummate wisdom and probity, must unavoidably produce opposition,

tion, enmity, and defamation, from multitudes who are made happy by it.

Farther, it is peculiarly observed of our nation, that almost every man in it is a politician, and hath a scheme of his own, which he thinks preferable to that of any other person. Whether this may proceed from that spirit of liberty which reigns among us, or from those great numbers of all ranks and conditions, who from time to time are concerned in the *British* legislature, and by that means are let into the business of this nation, I shall not take upon me to determine. But for this reason it is certain, that a *British* ministry must expect to meet with many censurers, even in their own party, and ought to be satisfied, if, allowing to every particular man that his private scheme is wisest, they can persuade him that next to his own plan that of the government is the most eligible.

Besides, We have a set of very honest and well-meaning gentlemen in *England*, not to be met with in other countries, who take it for granted, they can never be in the wrong, so long as they oppose ministers of state. Those whom they have admired through the whole course of their lives for their honour and integrity, though they still persist to act in their former character, and change nothing but their stations, appear to them in a disadvantageous light, as soon as they are placed upon state-eminencies. Many of these gentlemen have been used to think there is a kind of slavery in concurring with the measures of great men, and that the good of the country is inconsistent with the inclinations of the court: By the strength of these prejudices, they are apt to fancy a man loses his honesty, from the very moment that it is made the most capable of being useful to the publick; and will not consider that it is every whit as honourable to assist a good minister, as to oppose a bad one.

In the last place, We may observe, that there are greater numbers of persons who solicit for places, and perhaps are fit for them, in our own country, than in any other. To which we must add, That by the nature of our constitution, it is in the power of more particular

ticular persons in this kingdom, than in any other, to distress the government when they are disobliged. A *British* minister must therefore expect to see many of those friends and dependents fall off from him, whom he cannot gratify in their demands upon him; since, to use the phrase of a late statesman, who knew very well how to form a party, *The pasture is not large enough.*

Upon the whole: The condition of a *British* minister labours under so many difficulties, that we find in almost every reign since the conquest, the chief ministers have been new men, or such as have raised themselves to the greatest posts in the government, from the state of private gentlemen. Several of them neither rose from any conspicuous family, nor left any behind them, being of that class of eminent persons, whom Sir *Francis Bacon* speaks of, who, like comets or blazing stars, draw upon them the whole attention of the age in which they appear, though no body knows whence they came, nor where they are lost. Persons of hereditary wealth and title have not been over forward to engage in so great a scene of cares and perplexities, nor to run all the risks of so dangerous a situation. Nay, many whose greatness and fortune were not made to their hands, and had sufficient qualifications and opportunities of rising to these high posts of trust and honour, have been deterred from such pursuits by the difficulties that attend them, and chose rather to be easy than powerful; or, if I may use the expression, to be carried in the chariot than to drive it.

As the condition of a minister of state in general is subject to many burthens and vexations; and as that of a *British* minister in particular is involved in several hazards and difficulties peculiar to our own country: so is this high station exposed more than ordinary to such inconveniences in the present juncture of affairs; first, as it is the beginning of a new establishment among us; and secondly, as this establishment hath been disturbed by a dangerous rebellion.

If we look back into our *English* history, we shall always find the first monarch of a new line received with the greatest opposition, and reconciling to himself by degrees the duty and affection of his people. The government, on such occasions, is always shaken before it settles. The inveteracy of the people's prejudices, and the artifices of domestick enemies, compelled their rulers to make use of all means for reducing them to their allegiance, which perhaps, after all, was brought about rather by time than by policy. When commotions and disturbances are of an extraordinary and unusual nature, the proceedings of the government must be so too. The remedy must be suited to the evil, and I know no juncture more difficult to a minister of state, than such as requires uncommon methods to be made use of; when at the same time no others can be made use of, than what are prescribed by the known laws of our constitution. Several measures may be absolutely necessary in such a juncture, which may be represented as hard and severe, and would not be proper in a time of publick peace and tranquillity. In this case *Virgil's* excuse, which he puts in the mouth of a fictitious sovereign upon a complaint of this nature, hath the utmost force of reason and justice on its side.

Res dura et regni novitas me talia cogunt.

The difficulties I meet with in the beginning of my reign make such a proceeding necessary.

In the next place: As this establishment has been disturbed by a dangerous rebellion, the ministry has been involved in many additional and supernumerary difficulties. It is a common remark, that *English* ministers never fare so well as in a time of war with a foreign power, which diverts the private feuds and animosities of the nation, and turns their efforts upon the common enemy. As a foreign war is favourable to a ministry, a rebellion is no less dangerous; if it succeeds, they are the first persons who must fall a sacrifice to it; if it is defeated, they naturally become odious

ous to all the secret favourers and abettors of it. Every method they make use of for preventing or suppressing it, and for deterring others from the like practices for the future, must be unacceptable and displeasing to the friends, relations, and accomplices of the guilty. In cases where it is thought necessary to make examples, it is the humour of the multitude to forget the crime and remember the punishment. However, we have already seen, and still hope to see, so many instances of mercy in his majesty's government, that our chief ministers have more to fear from the murmurs of their too violent friends, than from the reproaches of their enemies.



N^o 49. Friday, June 8.

—jam nunc solennes ducere pompas
Ad delubra juvat ———

VIRG.

YESTERDAY was set apart as a day of publick thanksgiving for the late extraordinary successes, which have secured to us every thing that can be esteemed, and delivered us from every thing that can be apprehended, by a Protestant and a free people. I cannot but observe, upon this occasion, the natural tendency in such a national devotion, to inspire men with sentiments of religious gratitude, and to swell their hearts with inward transports of joy and exultation.

When instances of divine favour are great in themselves, when they are fresh upon the memory, when they are peculiar to a certain country, and commemorated by them in large and solemn assemblies; a man must be of a very cold or degenerate temper, whose heart doth not burn within him in the midst of that praise and adoration, which arises at the same hour in
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all the different parts of the nation, and from the many thousands of the people.

It is impossible to read of extraordinary and national acts of worship, without being warmed with the description, and feeling some degree of that divine Enthusiasm, which spreads itself among a joyful and religious multitude. A part of that exuberant devotion, with which the whole assembly raised and animated one another, catches a reader at the greatest distance of time, and makes him a kind of sharer in it.

Among all the publick solemnities of this nature, there is none in history so glorious as that under the reign of king *Solomon*, at the dedication of the temple. Besides the great officers of state, and the inhabitants of *Jerusalem*, all the elders and heads of tribes, with the whole body of the people ranged under them, from one end of the kingdom to the other, were summoned to assist in it. We may guess at the prodigious number of this assembly from the sacrifice on which they feasted, consisting of a hundred and twenty thousand sheep, and two hundred and twenty hecatombs of oxen. When this vast congregation was formed into a regular procession to attend the ark of the covenant, the king marched at the head of his people, with hymns and dances to the new temple, which he had erected for its reception. *Josephus* tells us that the *Levites* sprinkled the way as they passed with the blood of sacrifices, and buried the holy incense in such quantities as refreshed the whole multitude with its odours, and filled all the region about them with perfume. When the ark was deposited under the wings of the cherubims in the holy place, the great consort of praise began. It was enlivened with an hundred and twenty trumpets, assisted with a proportionable number of other kinds of musical instruments, and accompanied with innumerable voices of all the singers of *Israel*, who were instructed and set apart to the religious performances of this kind. As this mighty chorus was extolling their maker, and exciting the whole nation thus assembled to the praise of his never-ceasing goodness and mercy, the *Shekinah* descended: Or to tell it in the

more

more emphatical words of holy writ, *It came to pass, as the trumpets and singers were as one, to make one sound to be heard in praising and thanking the Lord, and when they lift up their voice with the trumpets and cymbals, and instruments of musick, and praised the Lord, saying, For he is good, for his mercy endureth for ever; that then the house was filled with a cloud.* The priests themselves, not able to bear the awfulness of the appearance, retired into the court of the temple, where the king being placed upon a brazen scaffold, so as to be seen by the whole multitude, blessed the congregation of *Israel*, and afterwards spreading forth his hands to heaven, offered up that divine Prayer which is twice recorded at length in scripture, and has always been looked upon as a composition fit to have proceeded from the wisest of men. He had no sooner finished his prayer, when a flash of fire fell from heaven and burned up the sacrifice which lay ready upon the altar. The people, whose hearts were gradually moved by the solemnity of the whole proceeding, having been exalted by the religious strains of musick, and aw'd by the appearance of that glory which filled the temple, seeing now the miraculous consumption of the sacrifice, and observing the piety of their king, who lay prostrate before his Maker, *bow'd themselves with their faces to the ground upon the pavement, and worshipp'd and praised the Lord, saying, For he is good, for his mercy endureth for ever.*

What happiness might not such a kingdom promise to itself, where the same elevated spirit of religion ran through the prince, the priests, and the people! But I shall quit this head, to observe that such an uncommon servour of devotion shewed itself among our own countrymen, and in the persons of three princes, who were the greatest conquerors in our *English* history. These are *Edward* the third, his son the *Black Prince*, and *Henry* the fifth. As for the first, we are told that, before the famous battle of *Cressy*, he spent the greatest part of the night in prayer, and in the morning received the sacrament with his son, the chief of his officers, and nobility. The night of that glorious day was no less

less piously distinguished by the orders, which he gave out to his army, that they should forbear all insulting of their enemies, or boasting of their own valour, and employ their time in returning thanks to the great giver of the victory. The *Black Prince*, before the battle of *Poitiers*, declared, that his whole confidence was in the divine assistance; and after that great victory, behaved himself in all particulars like a truly Christian conqueror. Eight days successively were appointed by his father in *England*, for a solemn and publick thanksgiving; and when the young prince returned in triumph with the king of *France* as his prisoner the pomp of the day consisted chiefly in extraordinary processions, and acts of devotion. The behaviour of the *Black Prince*, after a battle in *Spain*, whereby he restored the king of *Castile* to his dominions, was no less remarkable. When that king, transported with his success, flung himself upon his knees to thank him, the generous prince ran to him, and, taking him by the hand, told him it was not he who could lay any claim to his gratitude, but desired they might go to the altar together, and jointly return their thanks to whom only it was due.

Henry V. (who at the beginning of his reign, made a publick prayer in the presence of his lords and commons, that he might be cut off by an immediate death, if providence foresaw he would not prove a just and good governor, and promote the welfare of his people) manifestly derived his courage from his piety, and was scrupulously careful not to ascribe the success of it to himself. When he came within sight of that prodigious army, which offered him battle at *Agincourt*, he ordered all his cavalry to dismount, and with the rest of his forces, to implore upon their knees a blessing on their undertaking. In a noble speech, which he made to his soldiers immediately before the first onset, he took notice of a very remarkable circumstance; namely, that this very day of battle was the day appointed in his own kingdom, to offer up publick devotions for the prosperity of his arms, and therefore bid them not doubt of victory, since at the same time that they were fighting

fighting in the field, all the people of *England* were lifting up their hands to heaven for their success. Upon the close of that memorable day, in which the king had performed wonders with his own hand, he ordered the CXVth Psalm to be repeated in the midst of his victorious army, and at the words, *Not unto us, not unto us, but unto thy name be the praise*, He himself, with his whole host, fell to the earth upon their faces, ascribing to Omnipotence the whole glory of so great an action.

I shall conclude this paper with a reflection which naturally rises out of it. As there is nothing more beautiful in the sight of God and man, than a king and his people concurring in such extraordinary acts of devotion, one cannot suppose a greater contradiction and absurdity in a government, than where the king is of one religion and the people of another. What harmony or correspondence can be expected between a sovereign and his subjects, when they cannot join together in the most joyful, the most solemn, and most laudable action of reasonable creatures; in a word, where the prince considers his people as hereticks, and the people look upon their prince as an idolater!



Nº 50. Monday, June 11.

*O quisquis volet impias
Caedes, et rabiem tollere civicam :
Si quaeret pater urbium
Subscribi statuis ; indomitam audeat
Refraenare licentiam
Clarus post genitis ———*

HOR.

WHEN Mahomet had for many years endeavoured to propagate his imposture among his fellow-citizens, and, instead of gaining

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any number of profelytes, found his ambition frustrated, and his notions ridiculed; he forbad his followers the use of argument and disputation in the advancing of his doctrines, and to rely only upon the scimitar for their success. Christianity, he observed, had made its way by reason and miracles, but he professed it was his design to save men by the sword. From that time he began to knock down his fellow-citizens with a great deal of zeal, to plunder Caravans with a most exemplary sanctity, and to fill all *Arabia* with an unnatural medley of religion and bloodshed.

The enemies of our happy establishment seem at present to copy out the piety of this seditious prophet, and to have recourse to his laudable method of club-law, when they find all other means for enforcing the absurdity of their opinions to be ineffectual. It was usual among the ancient *Romans*, for those, who had saved the life of a citizen, to be dressed in an oaken garland; but among us, this has been a mark of such well-intentioned persons, as would betray their country, if they were able, and beat out the brains of their fellow-subjects. Nay, the leaders of the poor unthinking rabble, to shew their wit, have lately decked them out of their kitchen-gardens in a most insipid pun, very well suited to the capacity of such followers.

This manner of proceeding has had an effect quite contrary to the intention of these ingenious demagogues. For by setting such an unfortunate mark on their followers, they have exposed them to innumerable drubs and contusions. They have been cudgell'd most unmercifully in every part of *London* and *Westminster*; and over all the nation have avowed their principles, to the unspeakable damage of their bones. In short, if we may believe our accounts both from town and country, the noses and ears of the party are very much diminished, since they have appeared under this unhappy distinction.

The truth of it is, there is such an unaccountable frenzy and licentiousness spread through the basest of the people, of all parties and denominations, that if their skirmishes did not proceed to too great an extremity,

tremity, one would not be sorry to see them bestowing so liberally, upon one another, a chastisement which they so richly deserve. Their thumps and bruises might turn to account, and save the government a great deal of trouble, if they could beat each other into good manners.

Were not advice thrown away on such a thoughtless rabble, one would recommend to their serious consideration what is suspected, and indeed known to be the cause of these popular tumults and commotions in this great city. They are the *Popish* missionaries, that lie concealed under many disguises in all quarters of the town, who mix themselves in these dark scuffles, and animate the mob to such mutual outrages and insults. This profligate species of modern apostles divert themselves at the expence of a government, which is opposite to their interests, and are pleased to see the broken heads of hereticks, in what party soever they have listd themselves. Their treatment of our silly countrymen, puts me in mind of an account in *Tavernier's* travels through the *East-Indies*. This author tells us, there is a great wood in those parts very plentifully stocked with monkies; that a large highway runs through the middle of this wood; and that the monkies who live on the one side of this high way, are declared enemies to those who live on the other. When the inhabitants of that country have a mind to give themselves a diversion, it is usual for them to set those poor animals together by the ears; which they do after this manner. They place several pots of rice in the middle of the road, with great heaps of cudgels in the neighbourhood of every pot. The monkies, on the first discovery of these provisions, descend from the trees on either side in prodigious numbers, take up the arms, with which their good friends have furnished them, and belabour one another with a storm of swacks, to the no small mirth and entertainment of the beholders. This mob of monkies act however so far reasonably in this point, as the victorious side of the wood find, upon the repulse of their enemies, a considerable booty on the field of battle; whereas our par-

ty-mobs are betrayed into the fray without any prospect of the feast.

If our common people have not virtue enough left among them, to lay aside this wicked and unnatural hatred which is crept into their hearts against one another, nor sense enough to resist the artifice of those incendiaries, who would animate them to the destruction of their country; it is high time for the government to exert itself in the repressing of such seditious tumults and commotions. If that extraordinary lenity and forbearance which has been hitherto shewn on those occasions, proves ineffectual to that purpose, these miscreants of the community ought to be made sensible, that our constitution is armed with a sufficient force for the reformation of such disorders, and the settlement of the publick peace.

There cannot be a greater affront to religion, than such a tumultuous rising of the people, who distinguish the times set apart for the national devotions by the most brutal scenes of violence, clamour, and intemperance. The day begins with a thanksgiving, and ends in a riot. Instead of the voice of mutual joy and gladness, there is nothing heard in our streets but opprobrious language, ribaldry and contention.

As such a practice is scandalous to our religion, so it is no less a reproach to our government. We are become a by-word among the nations for our ridiculous feuds and animosities, and fill all the publick prints of *Europe* with the accounts of our mid-night brawls and confusions.

The mischiefs arising to private persons from these vile disturbers of the commonwealth are too many to be enumerated. The great and innocent are insulted by the scum and refuse of the people. Several poor wretches, who have engaged in these commotions, have been disabled, for their lives, from doing any good to their families and dependents; nay, several of them have fallen a sacrifice to their own inexcusable folly and madness. Should the government be wearied out of its present patience and forbearance, and forced to execute all those powers with which it is invested

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for the preservation of the publick peace; what is to be expected by such heaps of turbulent and seditious men!

These and the like considerations, though they may have no influence on the headstrong unruly multitude, ought to sink into the minds of those who are their abettors and who, if they escape the punishment here due to them, must very well know that these several mischiefs will be one day laid to their charge.



N^o 51. Friday, June 15.

Quod si in hoc erro libenter erro; nec mihi hunc errorem, quo delector, dum vivo, extorqueri volo. CIC.

AS there is nothing which more improves the mind of man, than the reading of ancient authors, when it is done with judgment and discretion; so there is nothing which gives a more unlucky turn to the thoughts of a reader, when he wants discernment, and loves and admires the characters and actions of men in a wrong place. *Alexander the Great* was so inflamed with false notions of glory, by reading the story of *Achilles* in the *Iliad*, that after having taken a town, he ordered the governor, who had made a gallant defence, to be bound by the feet to his chariot, and afterwards dragg'd the brave man round the city, because *Hector* had been treated in the same barbarous manner by his admired hero.

Many *Englishmen* have proved very pernicious to their own country, by following blindly the examples of persons to be met with in *Greek* and *Roman* history, who acted in conformity with their own governments; after a quite different manner, than they would have acted in a constitution like that of ours. Such a method of proceeding is as unreasonable in a politician, as it would be in a husbandman to make use of *Virgil's* precepts

of agriculture, in managing the soil of our country, that lies in a quite different climate, and under the influence of almost another sun.

Our regicides in the commission of the most execrable murder used to justify themselves from the conduct of *Brutus*, not considering that *Caesar*, from the condition of a fellow-citizen, had risen by the most indirect methods, and broken through all the laws of the community, to place himself at the head of the government, and enslave his country. On the other side, several of our *English* readers, having observed that a passive and unlimited obedience was paid to *Roman* emperors, who were possessed of the whole legislative, as well as executive power, have formerly endeavoured to inculcate the same kind of obedience, where there is not the same kind of authority.

Instructions therefore to be learned from histories of this nature, are only such as arise from particulars agreeable to all communities, or from such as are common to our own constitution, and to that of which we read. A tenacious adherence to the rights and liberties transmitted from a wise and virtuous ancestry, publick spirit, and a love of one's country, submission to established laws, impartial administrations of justice, a strict regard to national faith, with several other duties, which are the supports and ornaments of government in general, cannot be too much admired among the states of *Greece* and *Rome*, nor too much imitated by our own community.

But there is nothing more absurd, than for men, who are conversant in these ancient authors to contract such a prejudice in favour of *Greeks* and *Romans*, as to fancy we are in the wrong in every circumstance whereby we deviate from their moral or political conduct. Yet nothing hath been more usual, than for men of warm heads to refine themselves up into this kind of state pedantry : Like the country schoolmaster, who, being used for many years to admire *Jupiter*, *Mars*, *Bacchus*, and *Apollo*, that appear with so much advantage in classick authors, made an attempt to revive the worship of the heathen gods. In short, we find many
worthy

worthy gentlemen, whose brains have been as much turned by this kind of reading, as the grave knight's of *Mancha* was by his unwearied application to books of knight-errantry.

To prevent such mischiefs from arising out of studies, which, when rightly conducted, may turn very much to our advantage, I shall venture to assert, that in our perusal of *Greek* or *Roman* authors, it is impossible to find a religious or civil constitution, any way comparable to that which we enjoy in our own country. Had not our religion been infinitely preferable to that of the ancient Heathens, it would never have made its way through Paganism, with that amazing progress and activity. Its victories were the victories of reason unassisted by the force of human power, and as gentle as the triumphs of light over darkness. The sudden reformation which is made among mankind, and which was so justly and frequently boasted of by the first apologists for Christianity, shew how infinitely preferable it is to any system of religion, that prevailed in the world before its appearance. This pre-eminence of Christianity to any other general religious scheme which preceded it, appears likewise from this particular, that the most eminent, and the most enlightened among the Pagan philosophers disclaimed many of those superstitious follies, which are condemned by revealed religion, and preached up several of those doctrines, which are some of the most essential parts of it.

And here I cannot but take notice of that strange motive which is made use of in the history of free-thinking, to incline us to depart from the revealed doctrines of Christianity, as adhered to by the people of *Great Britain*, because *Socrates*, with several other eminent *Greeks*, and *Cicero*, with many other learned *Romans*, did in the like manner depart from the religious notions of their own countrymen. Now this author should have considered, that those very points, in which these wise men disagreed from the bulk of the people, are points in which they agreed with the received doctrines of our nation. Their free-thinking consisted in asserting the unity and immateriality of the
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Godhead, the immortality of the soul, a state of future rewards and punishments, and the necessity of virtue, exclusive of all silly and superstitious practices, to procure the happiness of a separate state. They were therefore only Free-thinkers, so far forth as they approached to the doctrines of Christianity, that is, to those very doctrines which this kind of authors would persuade us, as Free-thinkers, to doubt the truth of. Now I would appeal to any reasonable person, whether these great men should not have been proposed to our imitation, rather as they embraced these divine truths, than only upon the account of their breaking loose from the common notions of their fellow-citizens. But this would disappoint the general tendency of such writings.

I shall only add under this head, that as Christianity recovered the law of nature out of all those errors and corruptions, with which it was over-grown in the times of Paganism, our national religion has restored Christianity itself to that purity and simplicity in which it appeared, before it was gradually disguised and lost among the vanities and superstitions of the *Romish* church.

That our civil constitution is preferable to any among the *Greeks* or *Romans*, may appear from this single consideration; that the greatest theorists in matters of this nature, among those very people, have given the preference to such a form of government, as that which obtains in this kingdom, above any other form whatsoever. I shall mention *Aristotle*, *Polybius*, and *Cicero*, that is, the greatest philosopher, the most impartial historian, and the most consummate statesman of all antiquity. These famous authors give the pre-eminence to a mixt government consisting of three branches, the regal, the noble, and the popular. It would be very easy to prove, not only the reasonableness of this position, but to shew, that there was never any constitution among the *Greeks* or *Romans*, in which these three branches were so well distinguished from each other, invested with such suitable proportions of power, and concurred together in the legislature, that is, in
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the most sovereign acts of government, with such a necessary consent and harmony, as are to be met with in the constitution of this kingdom. But I have observed, in a foregoing paper, how defective the *Roman* commonwealth was in this particular, when compared with our own form of government, and it will not be difficult for the reader, upon singling out any other ancient state, to find how far it will suffer in the parallel.



N^o 52. Monday, June 18.

An tu populum Romanum esse illum putas qui constat ex iis, qui mercede conducuntur? qui impelluntur, ut vim efferant magistratibus? ut obsideant senatum? optent quotidie caedem, incendia, rapinas? quem tu tamen populum nisi tabernis clausis, frequentare non poteris: Cui populo Duces Lentidios, Lollios, Sergios, praefeceris, O speciem, dignitatemque populi Romani, quam reges, nationes exterae, quam gentes ultimae pertimescunt; Multitudinem hominum ex servis conductis, ex facinorosis, ex egentibus congregatam? CIC.

THERE is in all governments a certain temper of mind, natural to the patriots and lovers of their constitution, which may be called state-jealousy. It is this which makes them apprehensive of every tendency in the people, or in any particular member of the community, to endanger or disturb that form of rule, which is established by the laws and customs of their country. This political jealousy is absolutely requisite in some degree for the preservation of a government, and very reasonable in persons who are persuaded of the excellency of their constitution, and believe that they derive from it the most valuable blessings of society.

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This publick-spirited passion is more strong and active under some governments, than others. The common-wealth of *Venice*, which hath subsisted by it for near fourteen hundred years, is so jealous of all its members, that it keeps continual spies upon their actions; and if any one of them presume to censure the established plan of that republick, or touch upon any of its fundamentals, he is brought before a secret council of state, tried in a most rigorous manner, and put to death without mercy. The usual way of proceeding with persons who discover themselves unsatisfied with the title of their sovereign in despotick governments, is to confine the malecontent, if his crimes are not capital, to some castle or dungeon for life. There is indeed no constitution so tame and careless of their own defence, where any person dares to give the least sign or intimation of being a traitor in his heart. Our *English* history furnishes us with many examples of great severities during the disputes between the houses of *York* and *Lancaster*, inflicted on such persons as shewed their disaffection to the prince who was on the throne. Every one knows, that a factious inn-keeper, in the reign of *Henry* the seventh, was hanged, drawn, and quartered for a saucy pun, which reflected, in a very dark and distant manner, upon the title of that prince to the crown. I do not mention the practice of other governments, as what should be imitated in ours, which, God be thanked, affords us all the reasonable liberty of speech and action, suited to a free people; nor do I take notice of this last instance of severity in our own country, to justify such a proceeding, but only to display the mildness and forbearance made use of under the reign of his present majesty. It may, however turn to the advantage of those, who have been instrumental in stirring up the late tumults and seditions among the people, to consider the treatment which such a lawless ungoverned rabble would have met with in any other country, and under any other sovereign.

These incendiaries have had the art to work up into the most unnatural ferments the most heavy and stupid part of the community; and, if I may use a fine saying
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of Terence upon another occasion, *to convert fools into madmen*. This frenzy hath been raised among them to such a degree, that it has lately discovered itself in a sedition which is without a parallel. They have had the fool-hardiness to set a mark upon themselves on the Pretender's birth-day, as the declared friends to his cause, and profest enemies to their king and country. How fatal would such a distinction, of which every one knew the meaning, have proved in former reigns, when many a circumstance of less significancy has been construed into an overt act of high-treason! This unexampled piece of insolence will appear under its just aggravations, if we consider in the first place, that it was aim'd personally at the king.

I do not remember among any of our popular commotions, when marks of this nature have been in fashion, that either side were so void of common sense, as to intimate by them an aversion to their sovereign. His person was still held as sacred by both parties. The contention was not who should be the monarch over them, but whose scheme of policy should take place in his administration. This was the conduct of Whigs and Tories under king Charles the second's reign, when men hung out their principles in different coloured ribbons. Nay, in the times of the great rebellion, the avowed disaffection of the people always terminated in evil counsellors. Such an open outrage upon majesty, such an ostentation of disloyalty, was reserved for that infamous rabble of *Englishmen*, who may be justly looked upon as the scandal of the present age, and the most shameless and abandoned race of men that our nation has yet produced.

In the next place, It is very peculiar to this mob of malecontents, that they did not only distinguish themselves against their king, but against a king possessed of all the power of the nation, and one who had so very lately crushed all those of the same principles, that had bravery enough to avow them in the field of battle. When ever was there an instance of a king, who was not contemptible for his weakness and want of power
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to resent, insulted by a few of his unarmed dastard subjects?

It is plain from this single consideration, that such a base ungenerous race of men could rely upon nothing for their own safety in this affront to his majesty, but the known gentleness and lenity of his government. Instead of being deterred by knowing that he had in his hands the power to punish them, they were encouraged by knowing that he had not the inclination. In a word, they presumed upon that mercy, which in all their conversations they endeavoured to depreciate and misrepresent.

It is a very sensible concern to every one, who has a true and unfeigned respect for our national religion, to hear these vile miscreants calling themselves sons of the church of *England*, amidst such impious tumults and disorders; and joining in the cry of High-Church at the same time that they wear a badge, which implies their inclinations to destroy the reformed religion. Their concern for the church always rises highest, when they are acting in direct opposition to its doctrines. Our streets are filled at the same time with zeal and drunkenness, riots and religion. We must confess, if noise and clamour, slander and calumny, treason and perjury, were articles of their communion, there would be none living more punctual in the performance of their duties; but if a peaceable behaviour, a love of truth, and a submission to superiors, are the genuine marks of our profession, we ought to be very heartily ashamed of such a profligate brotherhood. Or if we will still think and own these men to be true sons of the church of *England*, I dare say there is no church in *Europe* who will envy her the glory of such disciples. But it is to be hoped we are not so fond of party, as to look upon a man, because he is a bad Christian, to be a good church of *England* man.

Friday,



N^o 53. Friday, June 22.

————— *Bellua Centiceps.* HOR.

THERE is scarce any man in *England*, of what denomination soever, that is not a Free-thinker in politicks, and hath not some particular notions of his own, by which he distinguishes himself from the rest of the community. Our island, which was formerly called a nation of saints, may now be called a nation of statesmen. Almost every age, profession, and sex among us, has its favourite set of ministers, and scheme of government.

Our children are initiated into factions before they know their right hand from their left. They no sooner begin to speak, but Whig and Tory are the first words they learn. They are taught in their infancy to hate one half of the nation; and contract all the virulence and passion of a party, before they come to the use of their reason.

As for our nobility, they are politicians by birth; and though the commons of the nation delegate their power in the community to certain representatives, every one reserves to himself a private jurisdiction, or privilege, of censuring their conduct, and rectifying the legislature. There is scarce a fresh-man in either university, who is not able to mend the constitution in several particulars. We see 'squires and yeomen coming up to town every day, so full of politicks, that to use the thought of an ingenious gentleman, we are frequently put in mind of *Roman* dictators, who were called from the plough. I have often heard of a senior alderman in *Buckinghamshire*, who, at all publick meetings, grows drunk in praise of aristocracy, and is as often encountered by an old justice of peace who lives in the neighbourhood, and will talk you from mor-

ning till night on the *Gothic* balance. Who hath not observed several parish clerks, that have ransacked *Hopkins* and *Sternhold* for staves in favour of the race of *Jacob*; after the example of their politick predecessors in *Oliver's* days, who on every sabbath were for binding kings in chains, and nobles in links of iron! You can scarce see a bench of porters without two or three casuists in it, that will settle you the right of princes, and state the bounds of the civil and ecclesiastical power, in the drinking of a pot of ale. What is more usual than on a rejoicing night to meet with a drunken cobbler bawling out for the church, and perhaps knocked down a little after, by an enemy in his own profession, who is a lover of moderation.

We have taken notice in former papers of this political ferment being got into the female sex, and of the wild work it makes among them. We have had a late most remarkable instance of it in a contest between a sister of the *White Rose*, and a beautiful and loyal young lady, who to shew her zeal for revolution-principles, had adorned her pretty bosom with a *Sweet William*. The rabble of the sex have not been ashamed very lately to gather about bonfires, and to scream out their principles in the publick streets. In short, there is hardly a female in this our metropolis, who is not a competent judge of our highest controversies in church and state. We have several oyster-women that hold the unlawfulness of episcopacy; and cinder-wenchs that are great sticklers for indefeasible right.

Of all the ways and means by which this political humour hath been propagated among the people of *Great Britain*, I cannot single out any so prevalent and universal, as the late constant application of the press to the publishing of state matters. We hear of several that are newly erected in the country, and set apart for this particular use. For, it seems the people of *Exeter*, *Salisbury*, and other large towns, are resolved to be as great politicians as the inhabitants of *London* and *Westminster*; and deal out such news of their own printing, as is best suited to the genius of the market people, and the taste of the county.

One cannot but be sorry, for the sake of these places, that such a pernicious machine is erected among them ; for it is very well known here, that the making of the politician is the breaking of the tradesmen. When a citizen turns a *Machiavel*, he grows too cunning to mind his own business ; and I have heard a curious observation, that the woollen manufacture has of late years decayed in proportion as the paper manufacture has increased. Whether the one may not properly be looked upon as the occasion of the other, I shall leave to the judgment of persons more profound in political enquiries.

As our news-writers record many facts which, to use their own phrase, *afford great matter of speculation*, their readers speculate accordingly, and by their variety of conjectures in a few years become consummate statesmen ; besides, as their papers are filled with a different party-spirit, they naturally divide the people into different sentiments, who generally consider rather the principles, than the truth of the news-writer. This humour prevails to such a degree, that there are several well-meaning persons in the nation, who have been so misled by their favourite authors of this kind, that in the present contention between the *Turk* and the emperor, they are gone over insensibly from the interests of Christianity, and become well-wishers to the *Mahometan* cause. In a word, almost every news-writer has his sect, which (considering the natural genius of our countrymen, to mix, vary, or refine in notions of state) furnishes every man, by degrees, with a particular system of policy. For, however any one may concur in the general scheme of his party, it is still with certain reserves and deviations, and with a salvo to his own private judgment.

Among this innumerable herd of politicians, I cannot but take notice of one set, who do not seem to play fair with the rest of the fraternity, and make a very considerable class of men. These are such as we may call the *after-wise*, who, when any project fails, or hath not had its desired effect, foresaw all the inconveni-

cies that would arise from it, though they kept their thoughts to themselves till they discovered the issue. Nay, there is nothing more usual than for some of these wise men, who applauded publick measures, before they were put in execution, to condemn them upon their proving unsuccessful. The dictators in coffee-houses are generally of this rank, who often give shrewd intimations that things would have taken another turn, had they been members of the cabinet.

How difficult must it be for any form of government to continue undisturbed, or any ruler to live uncensured, where every one of the community is thus qualified for modelling the constitution, and is so good a judge in matters of state ! A famous *French* wit, to shew how the monarch of that nation, who has no partners in his sovereignty, is better able to make his way through all the difficulties of government, than an emperor of *Germany*, who acts in concert with many inferior fellow-sovereigns ; compares the first to a serpent with many tails to one head ; and the other to a serpent with one tail to many heads ; and puts the question, which of them is like to glide with most ease and activity through a thicket ? The same comparison will hold in the business of a nation conducted by a ministry, or a whole kingdom of politicians.

N^o 54.

Monday, June 25.

Tu, nisi ventis

Debes ludibrium, cavé.

Nuper sollicitum quæ mihi taedium,

Nunc desiderium, curaque non levis.

HOR.

THE general division of the *British* nation is into Whigs and Tories, there being very few, if any, who stand neuters in the dispute, without ranging themselves under one of these denominations.

minations. One would therefore be apt to think, that every member of the community, who embraces with vehemence the principles of either of these parties, had thoroughly sifted and examined them, and was secretly convinced of their preference to those of that party which he rejects. And yet it is certain, that most of our fellow-subjects are guided in this particular, either by the prejudice of education, private interest, personal friendship, or a deference to the judgment of those, who perhaps in their own hearts disapprove the opinions, which they industriously spread among the multitude. Nay, there is nothing more undoubtedly true, than that great numbers of one side concur in reality with the notions of those whom they oppose, were they able to explain their implicit sentiments, and to tell their own meaning.

However, as it becomes every reasonable man to examine those principles by which he acts, I shall in this paper select some considerations, out of many that might be insisted on, to shew the preference of what is generally called the Whig-scheme, to that which is espoused by the Tories.

This will appear in the first place, if we reflect upon the tendency of their respective principles, supposing them carried to their utmost extremity. For if, in this case, the worst consequences of the one are more eligible than the worst consequences of the other, it is a plain argument, that those principles are the most eligible of the two, whose effects are the least pernicious. Now the tendency of these two different sets of principles, as they are charged upon each party by its antagonists, is as follows. The Tories tell us, that the Whig-scheme would end in Presbyterianism and a commonwealth. The Whigs tell us on the other side, that the Tory-scheme would terminate in Popery and arbitrary government. Were these reproaches mutually true, which would be most preferable to any man of common sense, Presbyterianism and a republican form of government, or Popery and tyranny? Both extremes are indeed dreadful, but not equally so; both to be regarded with the utmost aversion by

the friends of our constitution, and lovers of our country: But if one of them were inevitable, who would not rather choose to live under a state of excessive liberty, than of slavery, and not prefer a religion that differs from our own in the circumstantial, before one that differs from it in the essentials of Christianity!

Secondly, let us look into the history of *England*, and see under which of these two schemes the nation hath enjoyed most honour and prosperity. If we observe the reigns of queen *Elizabeth* and king *James I.* (which an impudent *Frenchman* calls the reigns of king *Elizabeth* and queen *James*) we find the Whig-scheme took place under the first, and the Tory-scheme under the latter. The first, in whom the Whigs have always gloried, opposed and humbled the most powerful among the *Roman Catholick* princes; raised and supported the *Dutch*; assisted the *French* Protestants; and made the reformed religion an over-balance for Popery through all *Europe*. On the contrary, her successor aggrandized the Catholick king; alienated himself from the *Dutch*; suffered the *French* power to increase till it was too late to remedy it; and abandoned the interests of the king of *Bohemia*, grand-father to his present majesty, which might have spread the reformed religion through all *Germany*. I need not describe to the reader the different state of the kingdom, as to its reputation, trade, and wealth, under these two reigns. We might, after this, compare the figure in which these kingdoms, and the whole Protestant interest of *Europe*, were placed by the conduct of king *Charles* the second, and that of king *William*; and every one knows which of the schemes prevailed in each of those reigns. I shall not impute to any Tory-scheme the administration of king *James* the second, on condition that they do not reproach the Whigs with the usurpation of *Oliver*; as being satisfied that the principles of those governments are respectively disclaimed and abhorred by all the men of sense and virtue in both parties, as they now stand. But we have a fresh instance which will be remembered with grief by the present age and all our posterity, of the influ-

influence both of Whig and Tory principles in the late reign. Was *England* ever so glorious in the eyes of *Europe*, as in that part of it when the first prevailed? Or was it ever more contemptible than when the last took place?

I shall add, under this head, the preference of the Whig-scheme, with regard to foreigners. All the Protestant states of *Europe*, who may be considered as neutral judges between both parties, and are well-wishers to us in general, as to a Protestant people, rejoice upon the success of a Whig-scheme; while all of the church of *Rome*, who condemn, hate and detest us as the great bulwark of heresy, are as much pleased when the opposite party triumphs in its turn. And here let any impartial man put this question to his own heart, whether that party doth not act reasonably, who look upon the *Dutch* as their genuine friends and allies, considering that they are of the reformed religion, that they have assisted us in the greatest times of necessity, and that they can never entertain a thought of reducing us under their power. Or, on the other hand, let him consider whether that party acts with more reason, who are the avowed friends of a nation, that are of the *Roman* Catholick religion, that have cruelly persecuted our brethren of the reformation, that have made attempts in all ages to conquer this island, and supported the interest of that prince, who abdicated the throne, and had endeavoured to subvert our civil and religious liberties.

Thirdly, let us compare these two schemes from the effects they produce among ourselves within our own island; and these we may consider first with regard to the king, and secondly with regard to the people.

1. With regard to the king. The Whigs have always professed and practised an obedience which they conceive agreeable to the constitution; whereas the Tories have concurred with the Whigs in their practice, though they differ from them in their professions; and have avowed a principle of passive-obedience, to the temptation, and afterwards to the destruction, of those who have relied upon it. Nor must I here omit

to take notice of that firm and zealous adherence which the Whig-party have shewn to the Protestant succession, and to the cause of his present majesty. I have never heard of any in this principle, who was either guilty or suspected of measures to defeat this establishment, or to overturn it, since it has taken effect. A consideration, which it is hoped may put to silence those who upbraid the Whig-schemes of government, with an inclination to a commonwealth, or a disaffection to kings.

2. With regard to the people. Every one must own that those laws which have most conduced to the ease and happiness of the subject, have always passed in those parliaments, which their enemies branded with the name of Whig, and during the time of a Whig-ministry. And, what is very remarkable, the Tories are now forced to have recourse to those laws for shelter and protection; by which they tacitly do honour to the Whig-scheme, and own it more accommodated to the happiness of the people, than that which they espouse.

I hope I need not qualify these remarks with a supposition which I have gone upon through the whole course of my papers, that I am far from considering a great part of those who call themselves Tories, as enemies to the present establishment; and that by the Whigs I always mean those who are friends to our constitution, both in church and state. As we may look upon these to be, in the main, true lovers of their religion and country, they seem rather to be divided by accidental friendships and circumstances, than by any essential distinction.



No 55. Friday, June 29.

— *caestus artemque repono.*

VIRG.

ARISING of parliament being a kind of cessation from politicks, the *Free-holder* cannot let his paper drop at a more proper juncture. I would

would not be necessary to the continuing of our political ferment, when occasions of dispute are not administered to us by matters depending before the legislature; and when debates without doors naturally fall with those in the two houses of parliament. At the same time a *British* Free-holder would very ill discharge his part, if he did not acknowledge, with becoming duty and gratitude, the excellency and seasonableness of those laws, by which the representatives of men in his rank have recovered their country in a great measure out of its confusions, and provided for its future peace and happiness under the present establishment. Their unanimous and regular proceeding, under the conduct of that honourable person who fills their chair with the most consummate abilities, and hath justly gained the esteem of all sides by the impartiality of his behaviour; the absolute necessity of some acts which they have passed, and their disinclination to extend them any longer than that necessity required; their manifest aversion to enter upon schemes, which the enemies of our peace had insinuated to have been their design; together with that temper so suitable to the dignity of such an assembly, at a juncture when it might have been expected that very unusual heats would have arisen in a house of commons, so zealous for their king and country; will be sufficient to quiet those groundless jealousies and suspicions, which have been industriously propagated by the ill-wishers to our constitution.

The undertaking, which I am now laying down, was entered upon in the very crisis of the late rebellion, when it was the duty of every *Briton* to contribute his utmost assistance to the government, in a manner suitable to his station and abilities. All services, which had a tendency to this end, had a degree of merit in them, in proportion as the event of that cause which they espoused was then doubtful. But at present they might be regarded, not as duties of private men to their endangered country, but as insults of the successful over their defeated enemies.

Our nation indeed continues to be agitated with confusions and tumults; but, God be thanked, these are only

only the impotent remains of an unnatural rebellion, and are no more than the after-tossings of a sea when the storm is laid. The enemies of his present majesty, instead of seeing him driven from his throne, as they vainly hoped, find him in a condition to visit his dominions in *Germany*, without any danger to himself or to the publick; while his dutiful subjects would be in no ordinary concern upon this occasion, had they not the consolation to find themselves left under the protection of a prince who makes it his ambition to copy out his royal father's example; and who, by his duty to his majesty, and affection to his people, is so well qualified to be the guardian of the realm.

It would not be difficult to continue a paper of this kind, if one were disposed to resume the same subjects, and weary out the reader with the same thoughts in a different phrase, or to ramble through the cause of Whig and Tory, without any certain aim or method, in every particular discourse. Such a practice in political writers, is like that of some preachers taken notice of by *Dr. South*, who being prepared only upon two or three points of doctrine, run the same round with their audience, from one end of the year to the other, and are always forced to tell them, by way of preface, These are particulars of so great importance, that they cannot be sufficiently *inculcated*. To avoid this method of tautology, I have endeavoured to make every paper a distinct essay upon some particular subject, without deviating into points foreign to the tenor of each discourse. They are indeed most of them essays upon government, but with a view to the present situation of affairs in *Great Britain*; so that if they have the good fortune to live longer than works of this nature generally do, future readers may see in them the complexion of the times in which they were written. However, as there is no employment so irksome, as that of transcribing out of one's self, next to that of transcribing out of others, I shall let drop the work, since there do not occur to me any material points arising from our present situation, which I have not already touched upon.

As to the reasonings in the several papers, I must leave

leave them to the judgment of others. I have taken particular care that they should be conformable to our constitution, and free from that mixture of violence and passion, which so often creeps into the works of political writers. A good cause doth not want any bitterness to support it, as a bad one cannot subsist without it. It is indeed observable, that an author is scurrilous in proportion as he is dull, and seems rather to be in a passion, because he cannot find out what to say for his own opinion, than because he has discovered any pernicious absurdities in that of his antagonists. A man satirized by writers of this class, is like one burnt in the hand with a cold iron: There may be ignominious terms and words of infamy in the stamp, but they leave not impression behind them.

It would indeed have been unpardonable insolence for a fellow-subject to treat in a vindictive and cruel style, those persons whom his majesty has endeavoured to reduce to obedience by *gentle methods*, which he has declared from the throne to be *most agreeable to his inclinations*. May we not hope that all of this kind, who have the least sentiments of honour or gratitude, will be won over to their duty by so many instances of royal clemency, in the midst of so many repeated provocations! May we not expect that *Cicero's* words to *Caesar*, in which he speaks of those who were *Caesar's* enemies, and of his conduct towards them, may be applied to his majesty: *Omnes enim qui fuerunt, aut sua pertinacia vitam amiserunt, aut tua misericordia retinuerunt; ut aut nulli supersint de inimicis, aut qui supersuerunt, amicissimi sint.* — *Quare gaude tuo isto tam excellenti bono, et fruire cum fortuna, et gloria, tum etiam natura, et moribus tuis. Ex quo quidem maximus est fructus, jucunditasque sapienti* — *Nihil habet nec fortuna tua majus, quam ut possis, nec natura tua melius, quam ut velis, quamplurimos conservare.*

As for those papers of a gayer turn, which may be met with in this collection, my reader will of himself consider how requisite they are to gain and keep up an audience to matters of this nature; and will perhaps
be

be the more indulgent to them, if he observes, that they are none of them without a moral, nor contain any thing but what is consistent with decency and good-manners.

It is obvious that the design of the whole work, has been to free the people's minds from those prejudices conveyed into them by the enemies to the present establishment against the king and royal family, by opening and explaining their real characters; to set forth his majesty's proceedings, which have been very grossly misrepresented, in a fair and impartial light; to shew the reasonableness and necessity of our opposing the pretender to his dominions, if we have any regard to our religion and liberties: And, in a word, to incline the minds of the people to the desire and enjoyment of their own happiness. There is no question, humanly speaking, but these great ends will be brought about insensibly, as men will grow weary of a fruitless opposition; and be convinced, by experience, of a necessity to acquiesce under a government which daily gathers strength, and is able to disappoint the utmost efforts of its enemies. In the mean while, I would recommend to our malecontents the advice given by a great moralist to his friend upon another occasion; that he would shew it was in the power of wisdom to compose his passions; and let that be the work of reason which would certainly be the effect of time.

I shall only add, that if any writer shall do this paper so much honour, as to inscribe the title of it to others, which may be published upon the laying down of this work; the whole praise, or dispraise of such a performance, will belong to some other author; this 55th being the last paper that will come from the hand of the *Free-holder*.

T H E E N D.



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